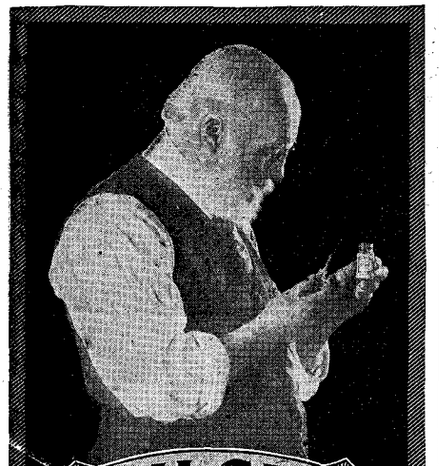

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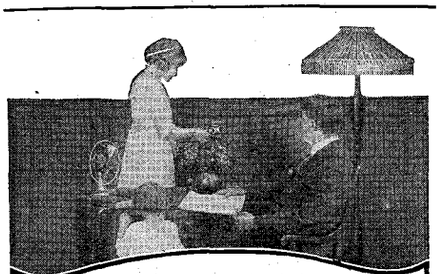

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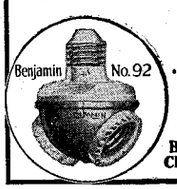

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To Readers of
The Outlook

The Outlook is anxious to secure for republication the most representative cartoons. We want the cartoons which appeal to our readers as vital expressions of popular movements and public opinion. Won't you help us in our effort to secure such cartoons by cutting out the strongest drawings of cartoonists in your local papers and pasting one of the attached coupons on the back of each clipping. Then send your selection to the Cartoon Editor of The Outlook.

The Outlook is equally anxious to secure unusual news photographs; photographs which cannot be secured from the commercial photographers. If you have any photographs of local objects or events which appeal to you as of more than local interest, we hope you, as a friend and reader of The Outlook, will send them along to the Photograph Editor of The Outlook. Fill out and attach a coupon to the back of each photograph you desire to submit.

As an experiment we propose publishing these photograph and cartoon coupons in successive issues of The Outlook for a period of some weeks. No cartoons or photographs will be considered which are sent to us otherwise than in accordance with this notice. We are forced to make this a rigid rule as only by this method can we assure to our readers and friends that their photographs will be properly cared for and their cartoons given attention in the order of their arrival. We will pay for such cartoons and photographs as we use in accordance with the agreements printed on the coupons.

THE EDITORS OF THE OUTLOOK.
381 Fourth Ave., New York City

To the Cartoon Editor of The Outlook:

The attached cartoon is clipped from the ..... of the following date..... If it is the first clipping of this cartoon to reach The Outlook and is considered worthy of republication, I will accept One Dollar as payment in full for my service in bringing this cartoon to the attention of The Outlook. I agree that if it does not meet the above conditions this cartoon will not be returned nor will its receipt be acknowledged.

Name.....

Address.....

To the Photograph Editor of The Outlook:

The attached photograph is the property of the undersigned and is submitted for publication in The Outlook. Postage is enclosed for its return if unavailable. It is my understanding that The Outlook agrees to pay $3 for this photograph if reproduced as a half-page cut, or smaller, and $5 if reproduced in larger size than a half page. Enclosed herewith is a brief account of the object or event depicted in the attached photograph, which The Outlook is at liberty to use as it sees fit. My name and address are as follows:

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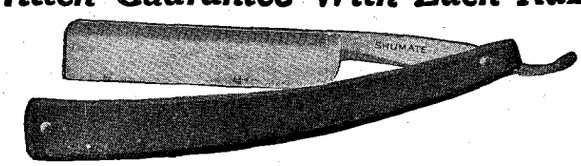

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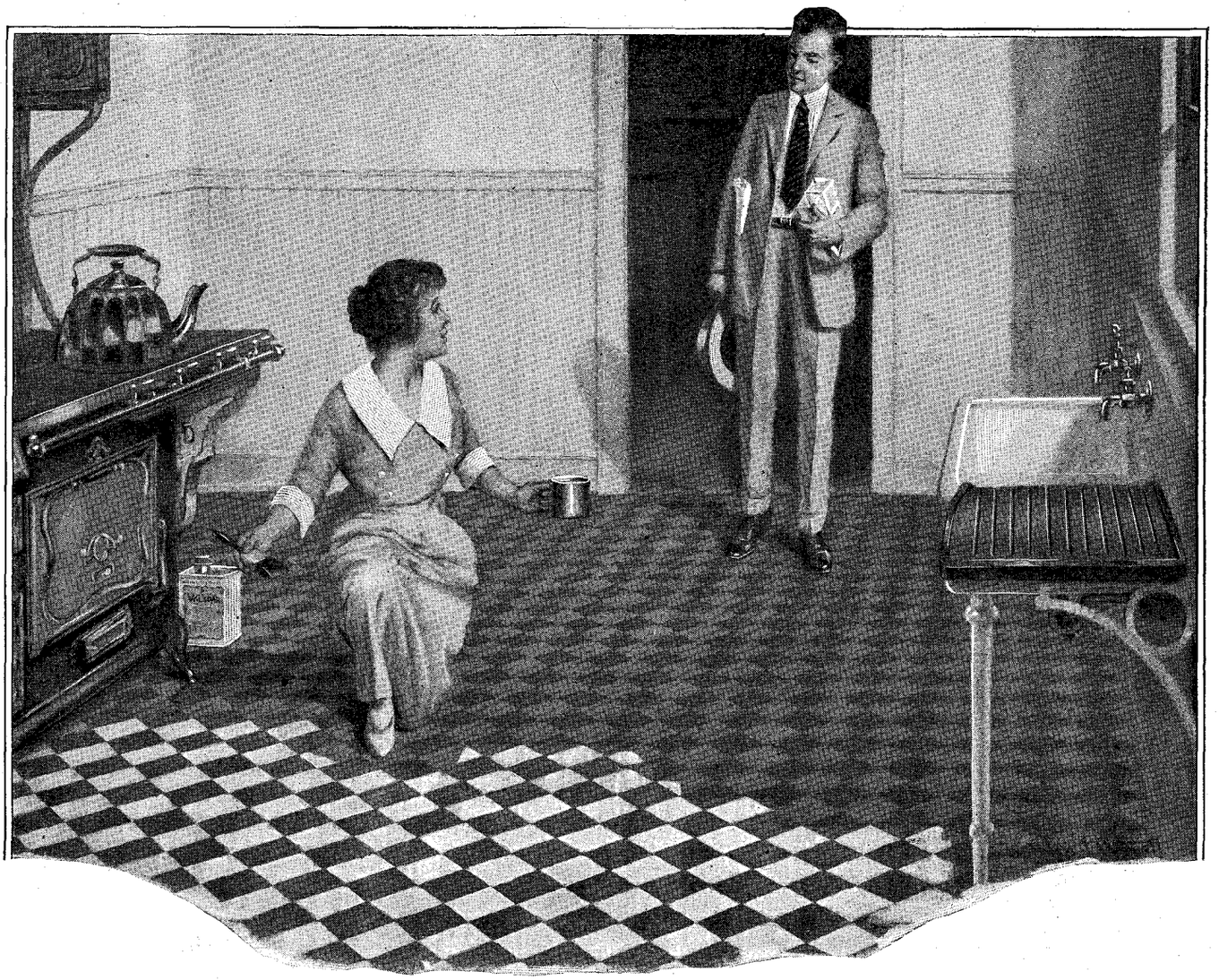

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The Outlook

JULY 14, 1920

The report of the Democratic Convention, together with The Outlook's interpretation of the result, begins on page 486

THE WEEK

THE NORTH DAKOTA PRIMARIES

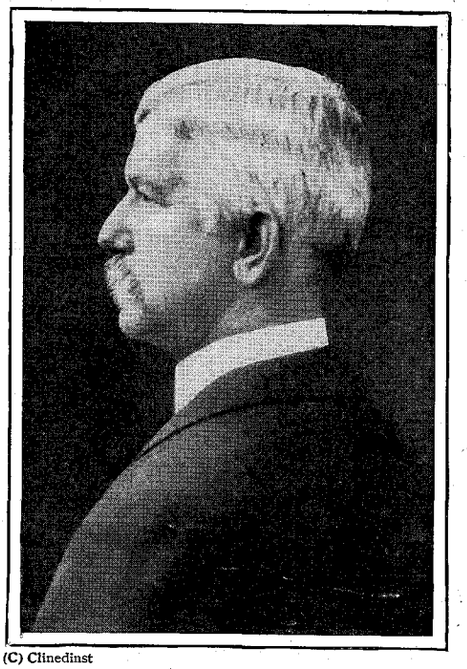
DEFEATED in its attempt to capture the Republican Party in Minnesota, the Non-Partisan League has been victorious in the State which gave it birth. In North Dakota the opposition to the League found a candidate in William Langer, a former member of the League, but now convinced of the danger inherent in its programme. Against Langer ran the present Non-Partisan League Governor of North Dakota, Lynn J. Frazier. For several days after the election the returns indicated that Langer was in the lead, but the tardy returns from the rural districts finally placed his opponent on top.

The victory of Frazier will undoubtedly affect the results of the National election in North Dakota this coming fall. Republicans had hoped that the nomination of an anti-League ticket would assure the placing of North Dakota safely in the Republican column. Now there is a chance that the Republicans and the Democrats who are opposed to the Non-Partisan League will center their effort upon the election of a Democratic Governor and that this will indirectly be of benefit to the National Democratic ticket.

A Republican leader who remained with the organization in 1912 recently said in the course of a conversation: "If the Progressives are looking for a justification of their movement, they can find it writ large in North and South Dakota. Here are two States, homogeneous in population and environment, divided only by an imaginary political line. But South Dakota has been under liberal and progressive political management. Therefore it has not succumbed to the radicalism which has swept over its northern sister. In North Dakota, however, the political machine refused to accept any of the doctrines of the newer politics, so when the break from the old order came, it came in the form of a political revolution. South Dakota has been saved from the State Socialism of North Dakota because it was sanely progressive." Perhaps there is a lesson in this for Republican politicians who after 1912 and 1916 still appear to underestimate the vital force which underlay the Progressive movement.

THE CONQUEROR OF YELLOW FEVER

ALMOST coincidentally with the news of the death in London on July 4 of Major-General William C. Gorgas there has been published a report of the Rockefeller Foundation as to the war against yellow fever carried on the last two years under the supervision of General Gorgas in parts of Yucatán, Ecuador, and Brazil and on the African coast. The results have been remarkable, and the effectiveness of the fight is shown by comparative statistics; for instance, in Guayaquil (Ecuador) from January to June in 1919 the record of cases per month fell from eighty-five to none.



(C) Clinedinst

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM C. GORGAS

The theory of mosquito infection as the cause of yellow fever was long since proved scientifically beyond dispute. General Gorgas, aided by Dr. Walter Reed and other young doctors and soldiers who risked their lives in the experiments, established the fact beyond question in Cuba. At once that country, formerly a danger-spot of the horrible disease, was freed from its malign attack. More than one of the experimenters lost his life in establishing the theory—and they died as patriotically as if they had fallen by German bullets. The world knows what followed in Panama; the great Canal could hardly have been constructed before the discovery of General Gorgas—certainly not without terrible loss. To-day yellow fever has largely lost its terrors; it is not extinct, but in civilized lands with proper sanitary and protective measures it has ceased to be a threat of widespread fatality, such as we had in New Orleans and elsewhere not so very many years ago.

General Gorgas lived to see his service as "the world's physician," the "soldier of humanity," and the "benefactor of mankind" (as he has been variously called) recognized by scientists, statesmen, and, most of all, by his fellow-Americans. He was intensely sincere, a practical man with a patriotic and humane vision, a saver of lives innumerable.

Like yellow fever, typhoid has been dealt with marvelously by modern medical science; a comparison between the comparative immunity from typhoid of our army in the Great War with the terrible losses in the war with Spain is one of the most striking proofs. But typhus and bubonic plague are still seriously dangerous. Typhus is now raging in Serbia and Poland. American doctors and nurses have done much to stay the epidemics, but conditions are still frightful. There could be no finer tribute to General Gorgas's memory than the extension of American aid and relief in these epidemic-stricken lands. As to bubonic plague, spread largely by rats, we have lately received a statement from Surgeon-General Cumming showing that the plague now exists in three of our Southern ports and appears to be epidemic in Vera Cruz. He urges a general campaign for rat extermination and rat-proofing. We advise all interested to write for information to the Bureau of the Public Health Service at Washington. The Surgeon-General, it should be added, states that there is no cause for alarm or panic, but reason to make conditions such as to forestall possible menace.

IN THE WORLD OF SPORT

TO an American has gone the championship of the tennis world. William T. Tilden, meeting Zenzo Shimidzu, the Japanese star, in the final round of the

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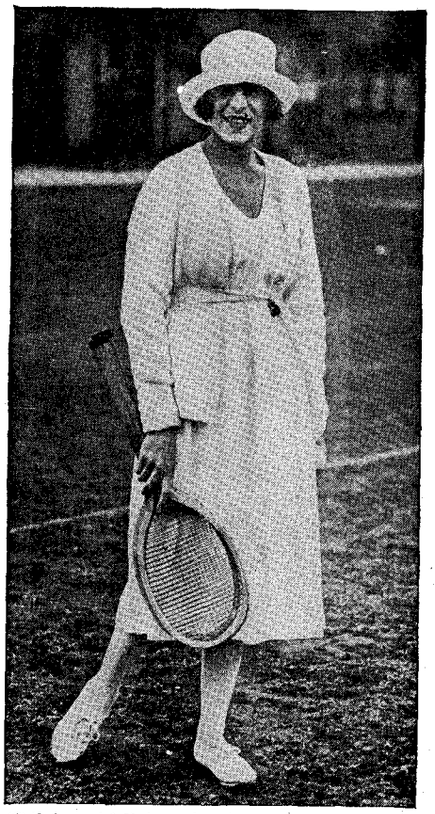

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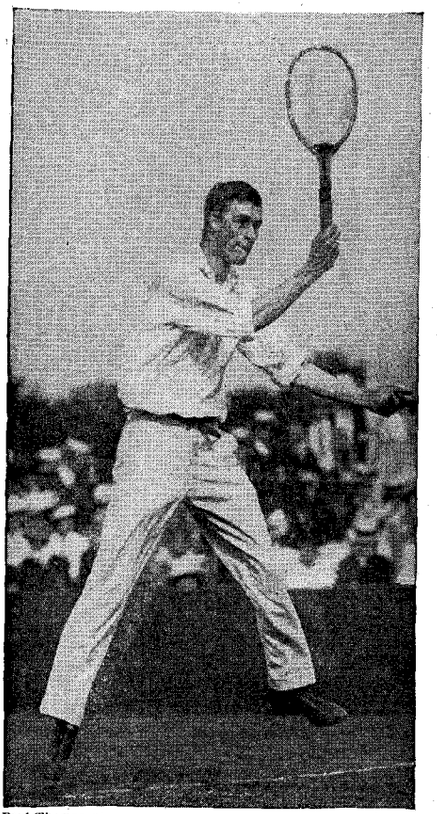
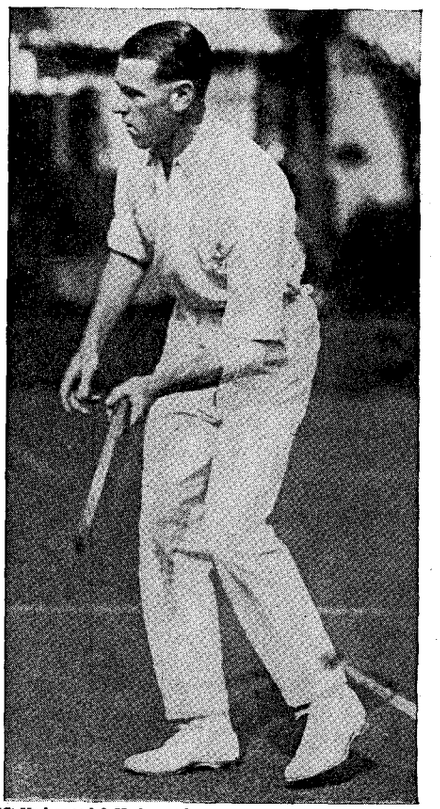
SUZANNE LENGLEN



Paul Thompson

WILLIAM T. TILDEN



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GERALD L. PATTERSON

British singles championship tennis tournament at Wimbledon, defeated him in three straight sets: 6–4, 6–4, 13–11. This victory gave Mr. Tilden the right to challenge the then holder of the British championship, for in the British tournament the title-holder does not "play through." He meets only the survivor of the grilling championship test. In the challenge round Mr. Tilden met Mr. Gerald L. Patterson, of Australia, and defeated him by a score of 2–6, 6–3, 6–2, 6–4. (Mr. Patterson, by the way, is not left-handed, despite the reversed photograph.) To America also comes the doubles championship, for R. N. Williams and Charles S. Garland, after beating Tilden and William M. Johnston in the semi-finals, overcame the English pair, A. F. R. Kingscote and J. C. Parke, of the British Davis Cup Team. The woman's singles championship went to Mlle. Suzanne Lenglen, of France.

The American players have still before them the elimination round for the Davis cup, which is now held in Australia, but for which England, France, and America are anxious to challenge.

While this tournament was taking place in England, Yale was winning both the intercollegiate singles and the doubles championships at the Merion Cricket Club, Philadelphia. The winner of the intercollegiate singles was Maxwell Banks, who defeated Dwight Robinson, of Harvard, in straight sets, 6–3, 6–3, 6–4.

Less fortunate than our tennis players were our professional golfers who invaded Great Britain and hoped to bring home the open golf championship. The two men upon whom America depended were Walter Hagen and James Barnes. Walter Hagen, the present American open champion, failed to gain a place as even a serious contender for the British title. James Barnes did better, for he succeeded in landing in sixth place and was during much of the tournament a serious contender for the title. He was the runner-up in the last American open championship, in which he was defeated by Walter Hagen.

On the water America and Great Britain have also met and are about to meet again. The Union Boat Crew of Boston, composed of Harvard graduates, entered the English Henley. In the American Henley this crew was a bad last. And in the British event it failed to win a place in any of the final heats, although it seems to have impressed British rowing men with its pluck and ability. The last time the Union Boat Crew went abroad it competed with Harvard for final honors in the British regatta. This was just before the outbreak of the war.

The overshadowing international event on the water is of course the approaching contest between the Shamrock IV and the Resolute. Both yachts are now hauled out to be measured, and then, after a brief rest, the races for the America's cup will take place off Sandy Hook. Students of the sport of yacht racing are inclined to believe that the Shamrock IV, if it does not win, will at least give the America's cup defender the hardest race of the long struggle for the ungainly looking cup which has meant so much to the yachting world for nearly three-quarters of a century.

COUNT BERNSTORFF'S TESTIMONY

EASILY "the book of the week" is "My Three Years in America," by Count Johann von Bernstorff, late German Ambassador at Washington. In it readers will turn at once to seek three testimonies—that concerning the Ambassador himself in connection with the Lusitania massacre; that concerning President Wilson; and any incidental testimony concerning ex-President Roosevelt.

As to the first, we have this astounding disclosure:

> I took upon myself to issue the advertisement as from the German Ambassador. It ran as follows: "Travelers intending to embark for an Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her Allies and Great Britain and her Allies. . . . Travelers sailing in the war zone in ships of Great Britain or her Allies do so at their own risk." This notice was intended to appear in the press on April 24 and the two following Saturdays. . . . Owing to technical difficulties the *communiqué* was not actually published until May 1—the very date on which the Lusitania left New York Harbor. This conjunction was bound to appear intentional rather than fortuitous, and even to-day the majority of Americans believe that I must have known

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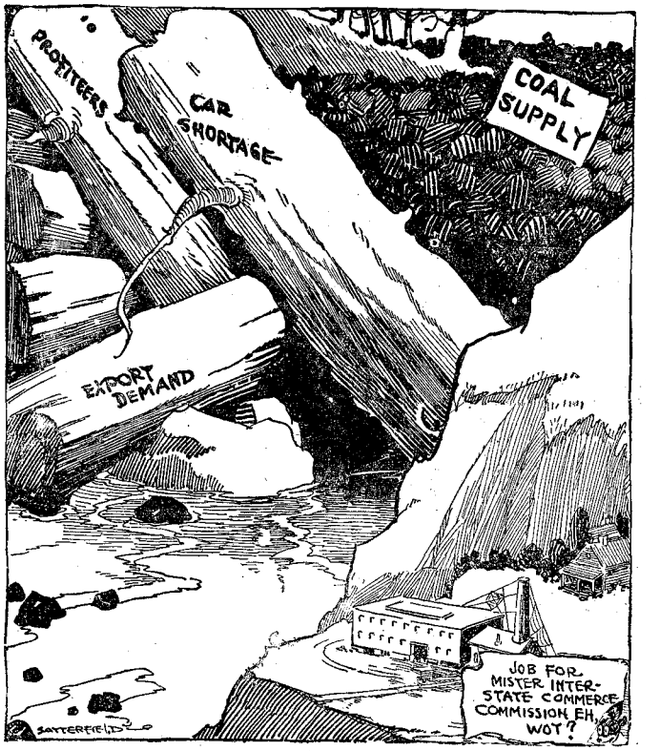
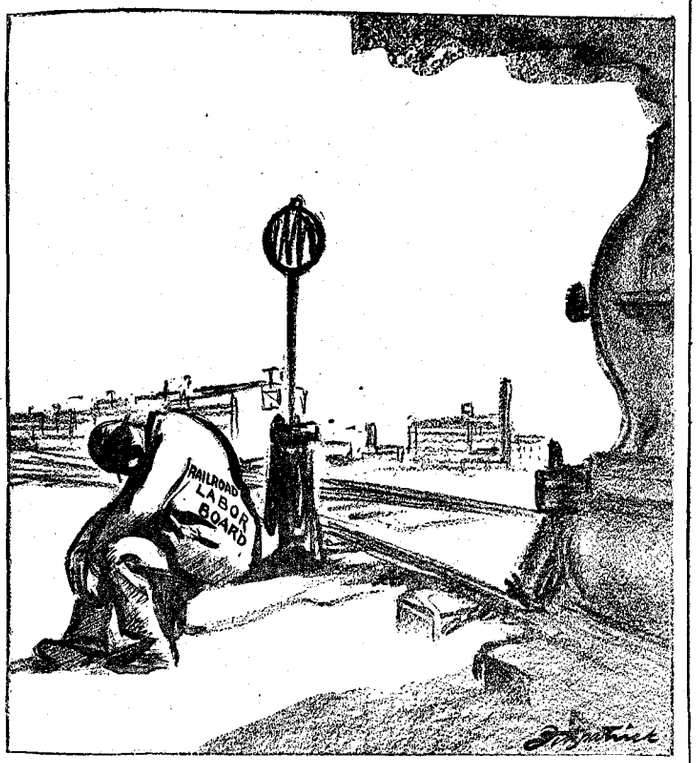
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Satterfield in the Tuscaloosa News and Times-Gazette



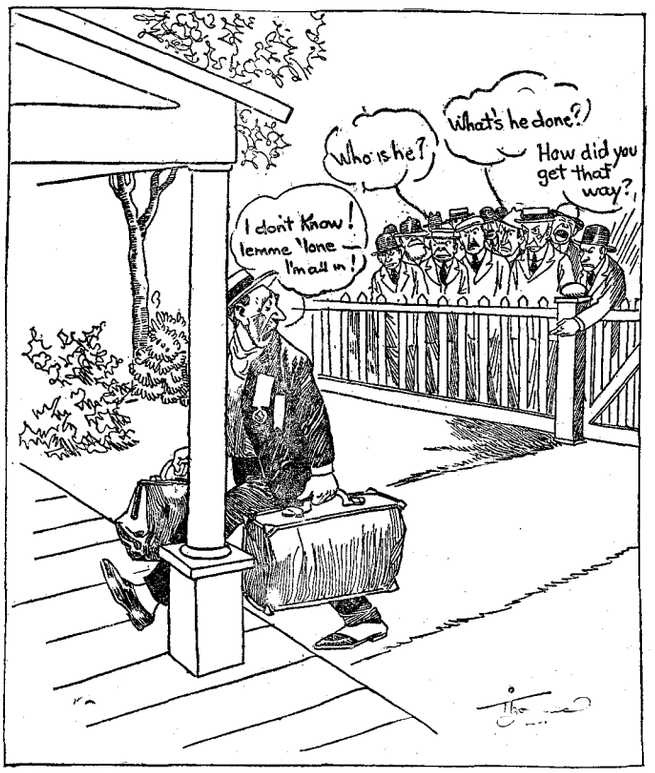
BREAK THE JAM!

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch



ASLEEP AT THE SWITCH

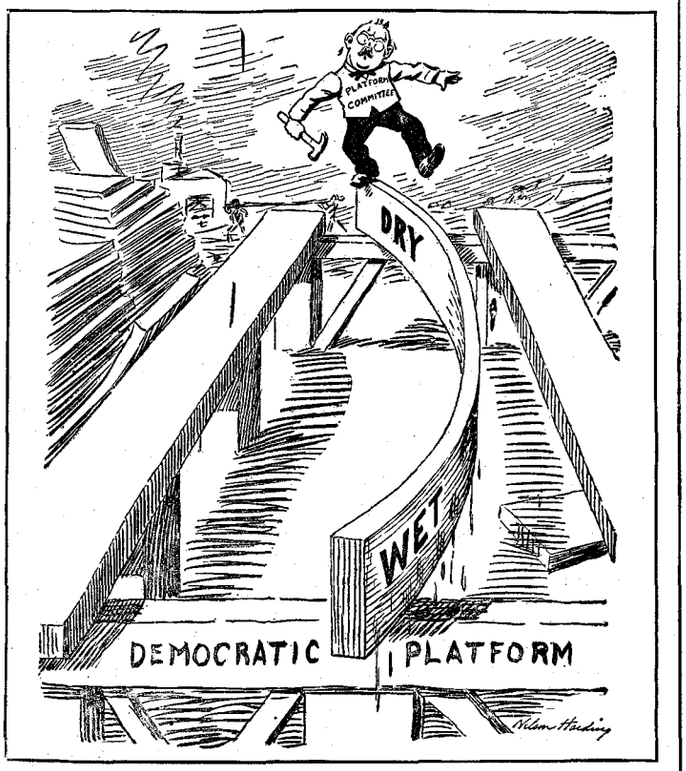
Thomas in the Detroit News



THE DELEGATE COMES HOME

From B. H. Knight, Detroit, Mich.

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



WALKING THE PLANK

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beforehand of the design to torpedo the Lusitania.

They do certainly so believe.

As to the Ambassador's relations with President Wilson we read:

> After the first battle of the Marne President Wilson consistently maintained that a decision was no longer possible by force of arms. This view, which I also shared, gave us some common ground, upon which . . . we were able . . . to work together.

Mr. Wilson later further defined his own attitude:

> The President made a statement on the lines of his proclamation of neutrality. . . . My reply that the American neutrality seemed to us to be tinged with sympathy for our enemies Mr. Wilson contradicted emphatically. . . .
>
> Until the 31st January, 1917, the President had striven to be neutral. . . . He always resisted the pressure of the Entente parties.

As to Mr. Roosevelt, we read:

> Bryan spoke to me . . . concerning Lusitania incident. His influence will, in any case, be exercised in favor of peace. This influence is great, as Wilson depends on Bryan for his re-election. Roosevelt, on the other hand, is beating the patriotic drum. . . .
>
> Wilson gave particular force to his remarks by pointing out that the leaders of the opposition, Roosevelt, Lodge & Company, desired war with Germany, which he was quite unable to understand.

The volume leaves the reader with a perfectly clear notion that had Roosevelt been President war would have been declared on Germany when it should have been.

SIR ROBERT BORDEN'S RETIREMENT

THE resignation because of ill health of Sir Robert Borden as Prime Minister of Canada is a very real event. It removes from the head of a neighboring Government a man who has well known how to carry out his Premiership.

Sir Robert is a lawyer; he has had extensive practice in the Nova Scotian and Canadian Supreme Courts. He has also been engaged in a number of cases before the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council. He has long represented the city and county of Halifax in the Dominion Parliament. In 1901 the Conservatives of the House of Commons elected him their leader, succeeding Sir Charles Tupper. In 1911 Sir Robert became Premier. He was the first overseas Minister to receive a summons to attend a meeting of the British Cabinet.

During the war he was the representative of Canada in the Imperial War Cabinet, and throughout those critical years for the British Empire was a patriotic leader, as may be gathered from his words three years ago on the occasion of the Canadian Semi-Centennial:

> During the half-century which now draws to a close Canada has come to a fuller knowledge of her heritage and of the responsibility which it entails, to a clearer consciousness of national purpose, to a firmer confidence in her destiny. . . .
>
> In 1866, the year before our confederation was born, Prussia snatched from Austria the hegemony of the German states and took her first step along the awful path that has led her to the relentless issue which she forced upon humanity three years ago. Her challenge to civilization and human freedom is being answered beyond the seas by the free democracies of the world. Among them Canada has worthily taken her place and proudly borne her part. Thus would they have wished it who in 1867 laid the foundation of our liberties.
>
> Let us with resolute spirit so maintain our purpose and our effort that in the last and greatest chapter of humanity's striving and triumph it shall be recorded of Canada that, as at the first she never hesitated, so to the end she never faltered.

International

SIR ROBERT BORDEN

Under Sir Robert and with the exigencies of the war demands upon it, the Government of Canada, like that in the home country, became a Coalition Government, and so strong has its influence been that, instead of splitting apart into Conservative and Liberal parties, it is to represent a new party, the Coalition party. It faces, however, as does the Lloyd George combination in England, an aggressive and increasingly powerful Liberal party with a more definite programme than that of its opponents. Like the English Liberal party under Mr. Asquith, the Canadian Liberals enjoy the leadership of a remarkable though much younger man, MacKenzie King. The Liberals are viewed with favor by the United Farmers' party. Both advocate a reduction of the tariff. This doubtless will be a chief issue should a general election shortly be held.

HYPHENISM—IRISH STYLE

DURING the war we in America discovered the danger of hyphenism. We found that it struck at the unity and integrity of the Nation. The hyphenated Americans of German birth or ancestry were those citizens who held allegiance in their hearts to another country than the one they professed to regard as their own. They wanted the American Government to act, not in the interest of the American Nation, but in the interest of Germany. They organized to persuade or compel America to stand by Germany because they or their ancestors came from Germany. They tried to use political influence in behalf of Germany, not because they believed in American ideals, but because they cherished German sentiment. They were not straight Americans; they were hyphenated Americans, German-Americans.

Hyphenism did not arise during the war; its danger appeared then, but it had existed, unheeded, for years. It was just as evil a thing when it was unheeded as it was when its danger was discovered. It would never have been a danger if it had been recognized before the crisis appeared.

Hyphenism is hyphenism, whatever the hyphen may fasten to the American citizen, whether it is allegiance to Germany or allegiance to any other foreign country, and it is dangerous to the unity and integrity of the Nation, whether it seems dangerous or not. The hyphenated American is not a straight American. The German-American is not. Neither is the Irish-American.

Recently there have been signs of the danger of Irish-Americanism. We have seen men calling themselves American citizens trying to influence the policies of American political parties to suit the propaganda of an Irish agitator in the interest of Ireland and because of attachment, not to America, but to Ireland.

A protest against this Irish form of hyphenism was raised before the Platform Committee of the Democratic Convention by a member of Congress from Texas, Representative Tom Connally. And it came with all the greater force because it came from an American of Irish descent. In a hearing by the Committee, Repre-

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sentative Connally, declaring that the proposed plank pledging the party to official recognition of the Republic of Ireland was not the proper expression for the Convention, said:

"I am an American, although my ancestors were of Irish blood. I am not an Irish-American. I am simply an American. I am against any kind of hyphenated Irish, German, or British," he continued, in spite of hisses from the propagandists. "I stand for Americanism."

As some of the most effective leaders on behalf of Americanism against German-Americanism were men of German descent, so we hope it will prove that some of the most effective leaders on behalf of Americanism against Irish-Americanism will be of Irish blood.

We Americans have had our lesson. We ought not to forget it. We want no hyphenism here.

HURRY AND SCURRY

WHERE is the old leisure, the old jog-trot, the ancient habit of go-as-you-please? The hurry and scurry that have become, unhappily, so much a part of our National consciousness, particularly in large cities, are like to wreck our nerves if we are not on our guard.

A friend of ours recently decided that what he needed more than anything else, after his buffetings with the perilous waves of Manhattan, was the tonic of a roadside walk. People jeered at him—yes, positively jeered—when he made the suggestion; and in his pitiful search for companionship he could find no one who was willing to wander forth with him at a slow pace. "I will take you in my car," said one potential companion. "But I do not wish to ride," answered our friend; "I want to stretch my legs and feed and invite my soul in the way that men were intended to do since the beginning of time." "You will be run over," cautioned many. And, true enough—that proved to be his imminent danger when he set forth—alone.

And he was thought to be eccentric on his strange pilgrimage. Hurrying motorists, attracted by what they thought was his plight, were constantly inviting him to jump in and take a lift. When he attempted to explain to them that he preferred to ramble, they thought he referred to his tongue instead of to his legs, and hastened on again, winking at one another, glad to be rid of so foolish a fellow. When they were not asking him to sit beside them in their gorgeous machines, they were almost knocking him down in their riotous scramble to get—where? Heaven only knows. We fear that they themselves hardly knew.

Speed has become the National disease. There is nothing pleasanter than motoring under the right conditions; but seldom can one find a chauffeur who will glide through the green country at the proper gait. Always he must overtake the car just ahead of him—and there is always a car just ahead of him! Sudden turns in the road bring into immediate view other automobiles rushing ahead like mad; and it gets to be a game to catch up with them, blow one's horn, and whiz past, as if something were to be gained by the trick.

What does it all mean? Is it possible that our nerves are forever on edge, and that we have to hurry in order not to break down? The clamor of the country on a week-end is hideous; and we think the silent hills must smile as they watch us pitiful humans rushing through the valleys, this way and that, mad to beat some one else to a goal that means nothing when we arrive there.

A return to that large leisure and ease which our forefathers knew would be a salutary thing for America. We are altogether too keen about getting nowhere in particular; and then equally keen to get away again instanter.

AMBASSADORS PLENIPOTENTIAL

THE Secretary of State took the letter of introduction from his visitor's hand and glanced at the signature. Then he turned back to the first page of the letter and read it all carefully. It was from a friend of many years' standing. When he had finished, he looked up and said:

"Bob Brainerd says you wish to be appointed ambassador to England, France, and Sweden. Is that right?"

"Bob says what?" his visitor exclaimed. "Of course I have not come here on any such wild goose chase as that! I am just back from ten years in the Arctic, and I ran into Bob at Chevy Chase and told him I was planning a trip to Europe. Bob said: 'I will give you a letter to the Secretary of State. He is an old friend of mine, and will get you your credentials in short order.' I hope I did not trespass too much on your time and kindness by accepting Bob's offer and seeking your personal assistance in putting through my passport in a hurry."

The Secretary smiled. "Not at all. But Bob's right. We do not give passports any more; we give credentials—to ambassadors plenipotential."

The Secretary's visitor looked very much puzzled. "I do not quite understand," he said.

"I am afraid a great deal has happened while you were away in the Arctic," the Secretary went on. "In the ten years since the Great War we have made quite a few improvements in our methods of handling international relations. One of the most significant changes, though perhaps at first it may seem unimportant, is the change we made in our treatment of American travelers. We used to give them passports for their protection in foreign lands. We now give them ambassadorships for another purpose, for the protection of themselves and their country."

"I am afraid I still do not quite understand," said the Secretary's puzzled visitor.

"International relations," said the Secretary, "are in great measure the sum total of individual relationships. When an American runs across a courteous Frenchman or meets an Englishman at his golf club who turns out to be the best of good sports, unconsciously that American's estimate of France and England is due for a rise. For this reason we are trying to impress upon all our citizens in foreign lands that everything they do reacts upon the reputation of their country. The only men and women who can really sell the American idea to our friends overseas are those who rub elbows with the citizens of foreign countries themselves. It requires the President's signature and the Senate's approval to make a man ambassador plenipotentiary. But every John Smith in foreign lands is an ambassador plenipotential for good or for evil whether he wants the job or not. Our present system merely gives to John Smith a title for a position he has always unconsciously held. We are hoping that this title will make John Smith think a little bit harder than he has done in the past of the effect of his actions upon the nation to which he owes allegiance."

"Mr. Secretary," his visitor said, "I am grateful to you for this explanation and the kindness which you have shown me. I will do the best I can to live up to my credentials as an American ambassador."

The Secretary pressed a button; an attendant entered. "Take this gentleman," said the Secretary, "to the Ambassadorial Division and see that his credentials to England, France, and Sweden are put through as soon as possible." He shook his visitor's hand. "Good-day, sir, and thank Bob for sending you to me with a letter of introduction. I am always glad to do what I can for the friend of an old friend."

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THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

ITS CANDIDATES AND PLATFORM

I—OUR NATIONAL PROBLEMS: AN EDITORIAL

THIS is to be a wonderful year for America; a wonderful experiment for a nation whose history has been one of wonderful experiments. A hundred million people of various races, vocations, traditions, faiths, temperaments, are to determine, not merely who shall be President for the next four years, Mr. Harding or Mr. Cox; not merely to which party we shall intrust the Government for the next four years, the Republican or the Democratic; but how we shall solve a set of problems more complicated than this Nation, or perhaps any nation, has ever before confronted. Even to state them fairly in a brief article is difficult. But whether we will or not, we men and women are to decide to whom we will give a power of attorney to deal with them for us. And on their action may depend, not only the welfare of this Nation and perhaps the peace of the world, but the comfort of our homes and the future, and possibly the lives of our families. In this article we attempt not to solve but to define these problems.

I. A policy of National isolation is no longer possible. On the sixth day of April, 1917, America officially decided that the European war concerned us, and on that day action was taken by the President and the Congress which for all time committed the United States to some measure of co-operation with the other Great Powers in making this world a safe and wholesome place in which to live. By the public messages of the President, by the united action of the people, the United States has ratified and confirmed that decision. It shares with Belgium, France, England, and Italy in the glory of the victory; and it also shares with them the responsibility which that victory imposes on those who won it. We could not if we would, we would not if we could, undo what we have done. The individual can never retrace his steps; no more can a Nation. The grown man sometimes sighs for the careless freedom of his boyhood, but he cannot be a boy again. The nation once entering into a world partnership cannot dissolve the partnership and return to a selfish isolation. We have to determine, not whether we will be a part of the world and take our share in world affairs, but what that share shall be. Two plans are put before us: The Paris plan and the Hague plan; the plan of President Wilson proposed in 1919, and the plan of President McKinley and of President Roosevelt proposed in 1899–1907.

The Paris plan proposes a partnership of the civilized nations with a Parliament to discuss all international affairs but to determine nothing, and an Executive Council with power to act for the nations and to call on them for soldiers to enforce its decisions, and it proposes to undertake the organization of an International Court in the early future. The Hague plan also proposes a Parliament with advisory powers, but also for the immediate completion of the organization of the International Court already partially organized, to interpret international law and apply its principles in specific questions submitted to it. This plan leaves each nation to determine for itself what part, if any, it will take in enforcing the opinions of the Parliament and the decisions of the Court.

We, the people of the United States, have to decide which of these plans we will adopt. The Democratic party recommends the Paris plan; the Republican party recommends the Hague plan.

II. The American people, after half a century of agitation of the temperance problem, have, by the method prescribed by the Constitution, taken away the control over alcohol as a beverage from the States and given it to the Nation, and at the same time and by the same process have adopted what is for the Nation a practical pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors; and an act has been passed by Congress to make that decision effective. The court of last resort has decided that this Amendment to the Constitution was constitutionally adopted and that the law to make it effective is itself Constitutional. Congress can modify the law, but Congress cannot modify the Constitution. The people have assumed the responsibility for dealing with the drink traffic and cannot rid themselves of that responsibility except by repealing the Constitutional Amendment. But laws and constitutions do not enforce themselves. It would be politically possible for Congress to leave the enforcement of the laws wholly to the States; it might be politically practicable for Congress to enact a law which would leave the rigorous enforcement wholly to the States; and how effective the enforcement of any National law would be depends wholly on the executive, and in the last analysis on the President.

To which party do the people of the United States who have decided upon prohibition desire to leave the enforcement of prohibition—to the party which since the days of Thomas Jefferson has been afraid of centralized power and the advocate of States' rights, or to the party which since the days of Abraham Lincoln has been the advocate of a strong National Government? The nomination of Mr. Cox, of Ohio, for the Presidency by the Democratic party as we go to press indicates that if the Democratic party should carry the election the Federal Executive would not personally be in favor of a very vigorous enforcement of Federal prohibition.

III. Our organized industries have been disorganized by the war. Men with money hesitate to invest it in organizing new industries or in reorganizing the old. Men whose only capital is their muscles or their brains have long thought that they were not receiving their fair share of the profits of organized industries and that the time is apt for claiming a larger share. Guild industries may be revised; small stores may come back to take the places from which they have been crowded by the great department stores; co-operation in industry and in its profits may have a new trial. But we cannot go back from the railway to the stage-coach nor from the factory to the hand loom. Organized industry has come to stay. It is more economic, more efficient, more hygienic, more profitable. Yet the old autocracy of capital will not, must not, be re-established. How can we reorganize our disorganized industries so as to promote in them the spirit and conduct them by the methods of democracy, and also retain in them the economic and moral advantages of the old organizations, is perhaps the most important problem of the immediate future. For this purpose two plans, though not clearly defined, are proposed.

We may discourage all private organizations of industry; may assume that big business in private hands tends to monopoly, and is therefore always perilous to the community; we may leave the farmer undisturbed on his farm and the tailor and the shoemaker in their shops, but may prohibit great industrial combinations and give to the Government a monopoly of all such great industries as the railways, the telegraph, the mines, and the factories, as we have already given to it a monopoly in the carriage of the mails. Or we may encourage and promote private enterprise, permit combinations both of laborers and capitalists, inspire in them the spirit of co-operation, give to all who are engaged in them some share both in their control and in their profits, and empower Government to exercise such regulation of them as may be necessary to protect the interest of both the partners and the general public. We have to decide next November in which of these two directions we wish to move and which of the two great parties will best facilitate the industrial progress we desire.

IV. The era of high prices ought not

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to have taken us by surprise. Millions of men formerly engaged in producing wealth have within the last six years been engaged in destroying it. Millions of acres that were producing food have been devastated by the war and other millions have lain idle because the farmers had turned soldiers. We needed money, and our country has created millions of paper promises to pay, the value of which is based, not on gold in bank vaults, but on the credit of the country. They will all be paid. But meanwhile the necessaries of life have been decreased and the money with which to buy them has been increased in volume. Unscrupulous individuals have taken advantage of the situation by creating an artificial demand or by playing upon the fears and the ignorance of the public. Profiteering this has been called; it should be called extortion. How to increase production, to decrease the volume of paper money, and to punish and to prevent extortion is a fourth problem which confronts us. And it will require a combination of honesty, courage, and wisdom to solve it.

V. Taxation is burdensome and the method of collecting it is irritating. It cannot but be burdensome, because the necessary expenses of government have enormously increased. Perhaps it must always be irritating; we none of us like to pay taxes.

But some of the expenses of government can certainly be diminished, the number of clerical employees reduced, and perhaps the methods of collection improved. On which of the two great parties will we devolve this duty?

Such are the five great problems which confront us as a Nation.

What shall be our future relations with other great world Powers?

How shall we compel obedience by the lawless to the prohibition policy which we have enacted into law?

How shall we reorganize our industries so as to make them more democratic in spirit, more peaceful in administration, more profitable to the entire community in result?

What shall we do to increase production and reduce the inflation of the currency?

What shall we do to lessen the burdens and improve the methods of taxation?

The Government cannot solve these problems without the co-operation of the people. But neither can the people solve them without the co-operation of the Government. Which party do we wish to lead us in dealing with these problems—the party of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland, and Woodrow Wilson; or the party of Alexander Hamilton, Abraham Lincoln, William McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt?

II—THE CONVENTION: A SUMMARY

AFTER prolonged balloting, comparable only to that which preceded the nomination of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, the Democratic party in Convention assembled at San Francisco nominated as its candidate for the Presidency James Middleton Cox, of Ohio. The time was two o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, July 6—which is equivalent to six o'clock New York time. The Convention was in session eight days, and only on the forty-fourth ballot was the hard-fought struggle won. Throughout the contest had been one between McAdoo, Cox, and Palmer, the last a rather poor third, but still strong enough to prevent decisive gains by his two opponents.

On Monday morning, when the rest of us were celebrating Fourth of July, the Convention balloted for several hours without agreement, and with no very clear hope of agreement, although slight diminution of Mr. McAdoo's total and increases of Governor Cox's total foreshadowed the final break. On the thirty-fourth ballot, for instance, Cox had 420½ and McAdoo 379½, a decided change from the twenty-sixth, in which McAdoo led with 424½, while Cox had 371.

Tired with seven hours of voting and shouting, the Convention adjourned to half-past eight in the evening. The struggle was still vigorous for a while, but at midnight the break came. Mr. Palmer released his supporters. For two ballots it seemed as if the gain were about equal to McAdoo and Cox. But on the forty-second ballot Cox had 540½, McAdoo 427; on the forty-third Cox 518 and McAdoo 412. On the forty-fourth came the landslide already indicated. It is said that Cox had 732½, McAdoo 267; but, as a matter of fact, the exact vote was never recorded, for the nomination was very quickly made unanimous by acclamation.

The fight made by Mr. AcAdoo's supporters was a remarkable one, considering the fact that they had only his tacit consent to the use of his name following an explicit public declaration that personally he did not desire the honor. The reasons for this valiant support of Mr. McAdoo are stated as follows by the correspondent of the New York "Sun and Herald:"

> The resolution of the real friends of President Wilson in this Convention that he shall not be humiliated by the old-time bosses whose hostility is a byword; the unyielding character of the dry sentiment of the Convention, unalterably opposed to Cox; the disposition of the progressive elements to accept in McAdoo Wilson progressiveness; the earnest efforts of the majority of women here for McAdoo; and, perhaps most important of all from a political standpoint, the very concrete support of the railroad brotherhoods and other powerful labor union units.

Governor Cox's nomination seems to be based partly on his genuine ability, partly on the feeling that it may be good Democratic policy to fight for Ohio with an Ohio man pitted against an Ohio man, partly because on the prohibition question he is regarded as "mildly wet," partly because of his record as a war Governor. In placing him in nomination Judge J. G. Johnson, of Ohio, said, among other things:

> With Cox as your candidate, Ohio is Democratic, and with Ohio Democratic, victory is yours. . . . The last time he was the only man on the Democratic ticket who was elected, and he is stronger now. I doubt if there are many instances in which a chief executive has made the sure and steady advance in the confidence and esteem and ripened judgment of his fellow-citizens of all classes that this man has made in Ohio.

Elsewhere we publish some account of Governor Cox's life and work.

At the end of a full week of agitation and uncertainty the National Democratic Convention, at San Francisco, had adjourned over Sunday. The one thing accomplished up to the Saturday night adjournment, close to midnight, was the adoption of a platform in which it was hoped that the sharp corners of hostility had been skillfully turned so that, although it certainly would not please every one, it would not fatally alienate any large section of the party. Elsewhere we comment on that platform.

The whole tone of the Convention, in action and discussion, was one of opportunism and of a desire to "walk softly" as within the party lines. This is quite consistent with the keynote speech of Chairman Homer Cummings, of the National Committee, as Temporary Chairman, on which we commented last week, and with the less forceful address of the Permanent Chairman, Senator Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas. For it is always plain policy to "point with pride" to one's own party and point with scorn and invective to the opposing party; while at the same time the delegates may hedge as far as possible on future action, policy, and principles. So also with the Convention's attitude toward President Wilson. It would be practically unthinkable for the Democratic party to go into the campaign without enthusiastically indorsing the man who has held as their leader the Presidential office for two terms, and their approval of his course and conduct in platform and their special personal message to him were matters of course. But underneath the surface there were plenty of indications that the delegates were unwilling to go before the people as bound hard and fast to the idea of one-man rule of the party. Mr. Bryan was the most conspicuous illustration of this feeling, but there were plenty of others. Thus the force of "Wilson influence" at the Convention (so far as there was such influence) seems not to have been either personal allegiance or "spiritual

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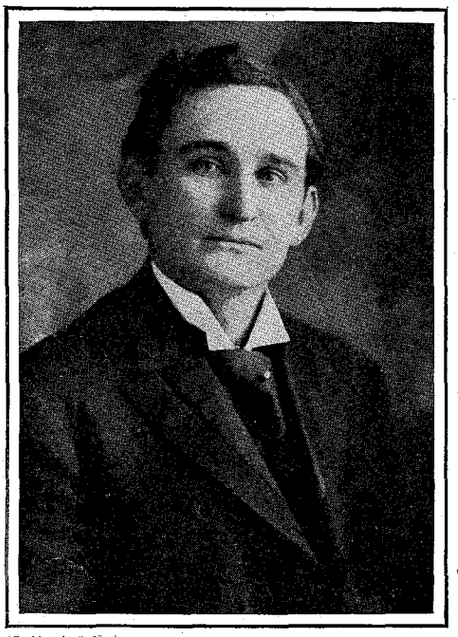
influence," as some have termed it, but plain "good politics"—the feeling that the party must stand on its record, uphold its Administration, and present a united front.

As to the choice of candidates, when the adjournment of Saturday took place two theories prevailed. One was that the three leading candidates—McAdoo, Cox, and Palmer—had reached a complete block, and that over Sunday some sort of combination on one of the numerous "dark horses" must be reached. Of just what principle of grouping or combination of diverging elements was possible there seemed at that time no plausible indication. At the Republican Convention the failure to adjourn when the block of the leading candidates was at



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JOSEPH T. ROBINSON
Permanent Chairman of the Democratic National Convention

its height is believed by those who know the inside facts to have prevented the otherwise extremely probable nomination of General Wood and to have aided the quick formation of the Harding combination. In San Francisco the feeling was that adjournment would work just the other way; that is, would aid agreement on a less conspicuous person than one of the big three. On the other hand, there were not lacking those who predicted that the two-thirds majority necessary to nominate in a Democratic Convention would make it impracticable to combine on any man who had been getting a small number of ballots, and that the logical outcome would be that the tired delegates, anxious to get home, would stampede to one of the "big three." At one time the leader of the Cox forces, Mr. E. H. Moore, of Ohio, declared: "I have been in politics for thirty years and attended many conventions during that period, but I have never seen such a grasshopper convention as this. With the exception of six or seven States the delegates are jumping around like fleas." And Governor Smith, of New York, later said, It is all a hopeless tangle." Predictions were not wanting that even Monday's session might not unloose the tangle; and, as we have seen, it was actually Tuesday morning when Governor Cox was nominated. Efforts to get President Wilson to intervene were met by a flat refusal on his part to influence the delegates in any one's behalf.

An analysis of the twenty-two ballots taken up to the Saturday adjournment shows that McAdoo gained from 266 on the first ballot to 386 on the ninth, then fell off gradually to 327½ on the nineteenth, and rose to his maximum up to that time, 395½, on the twenty-first, dropping to 372½ on the twenty-second. Cox's upward trend was slower and steadier, from 134 on the first ballot to 468½ on the fifteenth, thence (varying up and down slightly) to 430 on the twenty-second. Palmer started with 256, reached 267½ on the seventh, and had 166½ on the twenty-second. No one of the nine other principal candidates, to say nothing of the numerous persons who had scattering votes, showed any considerable strength—the high-water mark was the 109 votes received by Governor Smith, of New York, on the very first ballot. The results of some of the later ballots have already been given.

To add to the complexity of the "dark horse" situation as it appeared on Monday morning, William J. Bryan, recovering from his physical and emotional exhaustion after his supreme effort to outargue the adamant Platform Committee on the prohibition and League questions, rattled off to reporters a list of men any one of whom, said he, "will stand a much better chance of election than any of those now prominently mentioned." Here is the list:

> Senator Owen of Oklahoma, James W. Gerard, Secretary Meredith, Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court, Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, ex-Governor Thomas M. Campbell of Texas, Representative Henry T. Rainey of Illinois, Judge Samuel Seabury of New York, ex-Governor Joseph W. Folk of Missouri, ex-Senator Shafroth of Colorado, and Ambassador Sharpe of Ohio.

Another illustration of Mr. Bryan's recovered buoyancy was his airy dismissal of the decision of the Convention to side-step the wet-and-dry question without a word—constructive, destructive, or instructive. Mr. Bryan's view, after his exasperating defeat had been philosophically accepted, was: "We kept out a wet plank by our effort to get in a dry plank. We made impossible the nomination of a wet candidate for President." This statement can hardly be said to be confirmed by the event, for Cox is generally regarded by both "wets" and "drys" as a "wet" candidate.

An innovation in the methods of conventions was the plan adopted to facilitate action, but, it must be confessed, without hastening a quick decision, although, as Mr. Bryan might say, if it had not been adopted the San Francisco Convention might have lasted a week longer than it did. This was to have the nominating speeches proceed while the battle of the planks was waging in committee, then proceed to adopt the platform, then turn back to the candidates and proceed to ballot. It worked out pretty well; the Platform Committee fought out its terrific battles in seclusion, and the nominating orators enjoyed themselves hugely for the greater part of two sessions, eloquently presenting the merits of the dozen or more aspirants for the highest office in the gift of the people. There is no need of summarizing at this distance of time these fervent eulogies, which were of the ordinary conven-

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HOMER S. CUMMINGS
Temporary Chairman of the Democratic National Convention

tion type. Nor is it necessary to describe the demonstrations on floor and in gallery by which it is always customary to employ mass psychology to aid in party and partisan glorification and excitement. Some of the bursts of enthusiasm were spontaneous and sincere; others were machine-made and prearranged.

The number of women present as delegates in this Convention was much greater than at Chicago. Several women made seconding speeches, and generally with credit to themselves, although there was certainly no such single effective speech as that of Mrs. Douglas Robinson at the Republican Convention. The newspaper correspondents say that the women delegates showed much astute political ability; that they were by no means mere lookers-on or dummies. An amusing illustration of this is found in the story of one lady who had written a speech seconding a certain candidate, but found that some other lady had been chosen for that purpose; so she simply changed the name in her address, and sought and obtained the chance to deliver it in behalf of another candidate. Another woman delegate is

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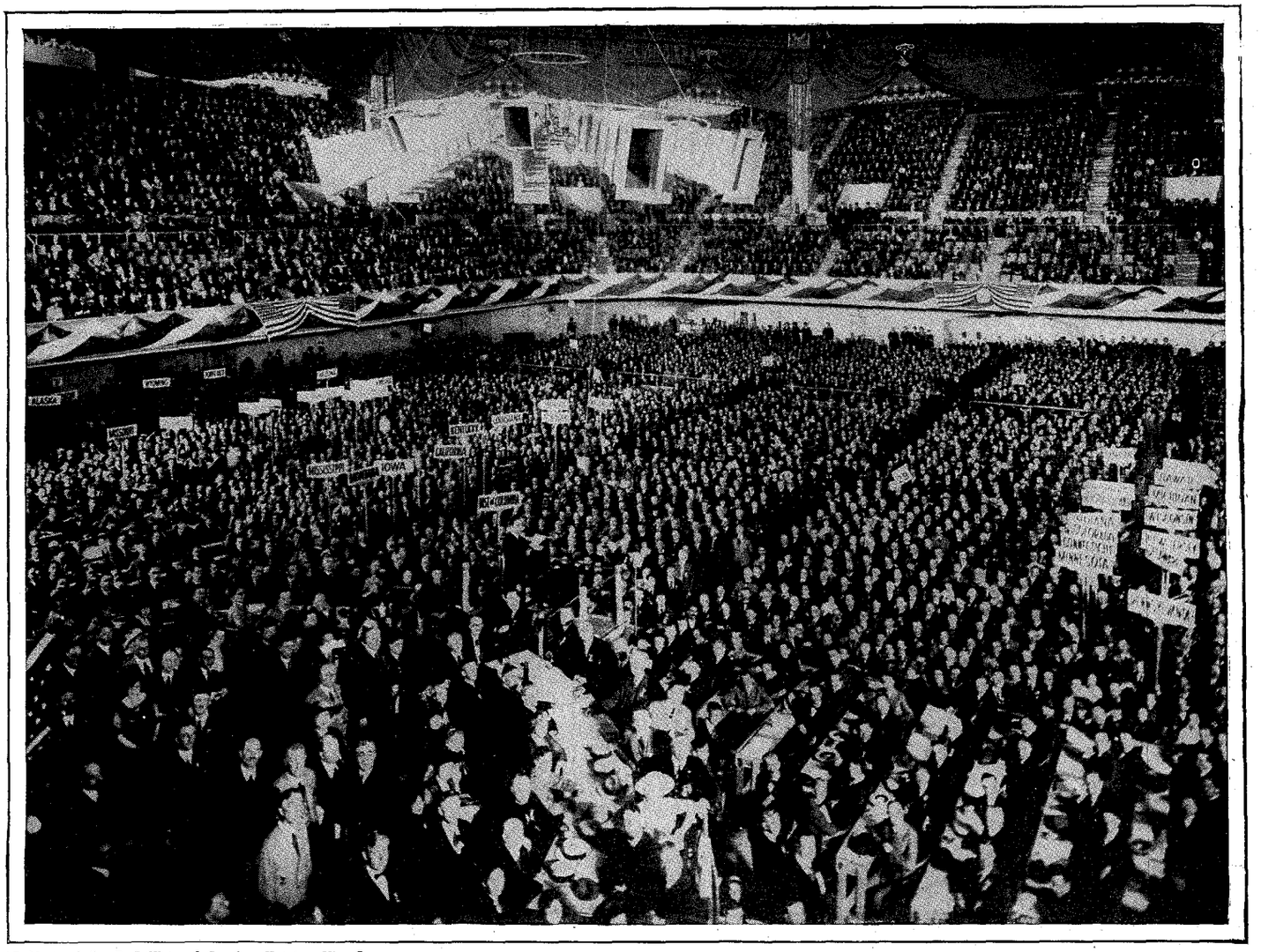

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THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN SESSION IN THE AUDITORIUM

said to have "stolen" her State delegation from its chairman—that is, to have "steered" part, at least, of the delegation to vote for another candidate than that chosen by the "boss." Still another is said to have shown some physical prowess in a difference of opinion as to whose support her State banner should be dragged. A striking and serious recognition by the Democrats of the new place of women in political life is seen in the decision that hereafter the National Committee shall be composed of one man and one woman from each State—a recognition of full sex equality in the party. The Convention also urged the Governors of three States to call special sessions of the Legislatures to act on the Suffrage Amendment and expressed the hope that thereby the thirty-sixth State to complete the necessary three-fourths of the States to ratify the Amendment might be found.

As has already been announced, we shall at the earliest possible date lay before our readers a special article descriptive of the entire sessions of the Democratic Convention at San Francisco from the pen of Mr. S. A. Cotillo, a member of the New York State Senate and himself a delegate in the Convention.

III—THE PLATFORM: AN INTERPRETATION

IN spite of vigorous debate and attempts to add planks from the floor of the Convention, the Democratic platform was adopted without change as it came from the Platform Committee. Both "wets" and "drys" tried to insert a declaration on prohibition. The "drys," led by Mr. Bryan, wanted the Convention to claim party credit for the Eighteenth Amendment and to pledge the party to strict enforcement without abatement of the present law; while the "wets" wanted a declaration for the "rights of the States" and for the legalization of home-made liquors. Each proposal was defeated by about the same majority on a roll-call of the delegates. By the silence of the Democratic as well as the Republican platform prohibition is thus eliminated as a formally acknowledged issue from the Presidential campaign. The efforts of Mr. Bryan to modify the plank on the League of Nations, a plank for a National Government newspaper, a plank against profiteering, and a plank against universal military training were also defeated, as was the attempt on the part of some delegates to get "recognition" for the "Irish Republic." The fact that these proposals were made gave the impression that the Democratic delegates were more interested in the platform than the Republican delegates; but they also gave the impression that the Democratic party counsels were more divided than the Republican.

Sending its greetings to President Wilson, whose Administration's achievements it "hails with patriotic pride," and saluting "the mighty people of this great Republic," the Democratic Convention declares its adherence to "the fundamental progressive principles of social, economic, and industrial justice and advance" and its purpose to resume the work of translating those principles into effective laws which was begun by the Democratic Administration, but was interrupted by the war.

With regard to the League of Nations, which is the subject of the first plank of the platform, the Democrats pronounce it "the surest, if not the only, practicable means of maintaining the permanent

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peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments." It was for this, they say, that America "spent her blood and treasure;" it was this that constituted the condition on which the armistice was granted. It is because the Treaty and the Covenant are so "near akin to previously expressed American ideals" that the Democrats felicitate the President and his associates on their "exceptional achievements at Paris." Conversely, they "condemn the Republican Senate for its refusal to ratify the Treaty merely because it was the product of Democratic statesmanship." After an argument against the Knox resolution, which would have terminated the condition of war without confirming the Peace Treaty with its provisions for a League of Nations, the Democrats state their position on the subject in the following terms:

> We indorse the President's view of our international obligations and his firm stand against reservations designed to cut to pieces the vital provisions of the Versailles Treaty, and we commend the Democrats in Congress for voting against resolutions for separate peace which would disgrace the Nation. We advocate the immediate ratification of the Treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity, but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates.

The charge (which they call "the Republican assumption") that membership in the League would impair the integrity or independence of our country the Democrats reject as "vain, if not vicious," and reaffirm the declarations which they say the President has repeatedly made, that "all our duties and obligations as a member of the League must be fulfilled in strict conformity with the Constitution of the United States, embodied in which is the fundamental requirement of declaratory action by the Congress before this Nation may become a participant in any war."

This, the first plank of the platform, is by far the longest. By implication it carries with it condemnation for those Democrats (among them Democratic Senators) who were willing, in some cases eager, to accept the Lodge reservations. It commits the party to the Covenant of the League of Nations virtually if not verbally as the President brought it from Paris.

For the conduct of the war, with its victorious ending, the Democrats claim credit for President Wilson, characterizing his selection of Republicans among "his councilors and coadjutors" as "a considerate course" which "the Republican party in Congress . . . has meanly requited . . . by savagely defaming the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and by assailing nearly every public officer of every branch of the service intimately concerned with winning the war abroad and preserving the security of the Government at home." The Democratic party thus recognizes the Administration's war record as an issue of the campaign, and leaves the discovery and correction of errors and abuses to its opponents. There are two policies on such a question as this. One is for a party to claim all the merits and disclaim all the evils of its record. The other method is for a party to be ahead of its opponents by turning its own rascals out and thus get the credit not only for the merits of its own record but even for dealing with the evils. It is the former method that the Democrats adopt in this case.

On the record of the Administration regarding finance the Democrats make a strong case, based upon the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act, in consequence of which they claim that "the inevitable war inflation has been held down to a minimum" and that "the Federal Reserve note is the unit of value throughout all the world." They warn the country against intrusting this system to Republicans.

Taxation, the Democrats say, should be revised to fit peace conditions. Without specifications they demand "modification and simplification, with a view to secure greater equity and justice."

For public economy the Democrats base their claim to credit on the record of the last Democratic Congress and deny the Republican claims, characterizing them as "paper economies."

The high cost of living and the depreciation of the value of bonds the Democrats attribute to the war itself and certain consequences of the war, to private extravagance, and to conscienceless profiteering; but the failure to reduce the high cost of living and to raise bond values the Democrats attribute to the Republican party in refusing to adopt President Wilson's suggestions and in wasting time and energy in "vain and extravagant investigations." The remedy, the Democrats declare, is increased production, Governmental economy, and pursuit of profiteers. To the latter two the Democrats in convention pledge their party.

After approving successively a tariff for revenue only based on the research of a non-partisan tariff commission, a budget system supervised and prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury as the representative of the President, and a modification of the Senate's rules to secure prompt action, the Democrats deal in what is the second longest plank in the platform with agricultural interests. They record laws passed by the Democratic Congress, such as the measures for farm loan banks, for the bureau of markets, for regulating cotton futures, for Federal warehouses, for the rural mail system, and the like. For the future the Democrats "favor comprehensive studies of farm production costs and the uncensored publication of facts found in such study," and such legislation as will confirm to the farmers the right of collective bargaining and the right to co-operative handling and marketing of farm products, and will facilitate the exportation of farm products.

On the subject of labor the Democrats have adopted a plank which embodies what might be called a brief essay, in which labor is declared not to be a commodity and labor is also declared to be entitled to justice, but must, in turn, recognize the reciprocal obligation between the worker and the State. The Democrats declare the resort to strike to be an unsatisfactory device, and pledge themselves "to contrive, if possible, and put into effective operation a fair and comprehensive method of composing differences of this nature." They are opposed to compulsory arbitration in private disputes, but in Government service they regard "the rights of the people" to be "paramount to the right to strike," though they "profess scrupulous regard for the conditions of public employment," and pledge the party to inquiry into Government pay and "speedy regulation designed to bring salaries to a just and proper level."

The Democrats indorse woman suffrage, urge Democratic States to ratify the Suffrage Amendment, advocate legislation for improvement of the conditions of women in industry, declare that "American women resident in the United States but married to aliens" should "retain their American citizenship," and that "the same process of naturalization" should "be required for women as for men." Praising the soldiers, sailors, and marines, they advocate laws for the relief of the disabled, for the incorporation of the Federal Board for Vocational Education in the War Risk Insurance Bureau, and for the enactment of soldier settlements on the soil.

As to the railways, they defend Federal operation during the war, which, they say, left the railways in improved condition, and advocate giving the Esch-Cummins Law a fair test with a view to a cure of its defects, so as to "insure a thoroughly effective transportation system under private ownership, without Government subsidy."

The Democrats advocate improved highways, the continued growth of our merchant marine, equalizing of port rates, the development of inland waterways, the extension of flood control, the continuation and extension of the work of reclaiming arid lands; indorse the Federal Trade Commission and advocate laws giving the Commission authority to prevent the unfair use of patents; and favor Government supervision of live-stock markets.

Praising the Administration's Mexican policy, the Democrats favor the recognition of the new Government of Mexico on ample proof of its stability and its willingness to recognize its international obligations, and declare that meanwhile Mexico must realize the propriety of a policy that asserts the right of the United States to demand full protection for its citizens. They declare that acquisition of petroleum and other mineral supplies at home and abroad should be encouraged.

They express sympathy with the new nations, reiterate "the great principle of national self-determination;" "within the limitations of international comity and

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usage," they express sympathy with "the aspiration of Ireland for self-government," and (without supporting the President's plea for an Armenian mandate) express sympathy likewise for "the unfortunate people of Armenia," for whom "our Government, consistent with its Constitution and principles, should render every possible and proper aid;" favor the granting of independence without unnecessary delay to the Philippines, a liberal homesteading policy for Hawaii, and the granting of the "traditional Territorial form of Government with a view to ultimate Statehood" to Porto Rico.

The Democrats approve the Democratic policy in Alaska, indorse the policy of non-admission of Asiatic immigrants, and declare that "the efficiency of the Post Office Department has been vindicated . . . by the efficiency of its operation," resent the charges against the Administration of "alleged interference with the freedom of the press and freedom of speech," reaffirm their respect for both, but assert that these rights afford no toleration of enemy propaganda or advocacy of the overthrow of government by violence. In their final plank the Democrats denounce Republican corruption.

A party platform is meant to be partisan and cannot reasonably be criticised for being so. The Democratic platform is no exception. It is said to be the longest platform ever issued by either of the two great parties. It is in great part verbose, and in places is slipshod in expression, as, for instance, in the sentence quoted about the Post Office Department. It shows the effect of the progressive movement of the past ten years, but avoids radicalism.

In only one important plank is there a strong issue taken with the Republicans—that is, the plank on the League of Nations. This, moreover, is put in the first place in the platform. It will take a minute examination to see any essential difference between the Republican and Democratic labor planks or agricultural planks or railway planks; but there is no question as to the difference between the Republican and Democratic planks on the League of Nations. In this respect at least the Democratic Convention has carried out the will of President Wilson in undertaking to make the League the chief issue of the campaign.

IV—THE ISSUE BEFORE THE COUNTRY: A POLL OF THE PRESS

"IT is Tom Sawyer, the cat, and the pain-killer again, and the cat has to pretend that its ecstasy of anguish is an intoxication of enthusiasm even if the dose kills him." So says the Chicago "Tribune" (Rep.) of the Democratic Convention's task, and adds: "This is because the Democrats have to indorse Wilson, and they have indicated that they will take a full dose of their medicine and pretend that they like it and that it will do the country good."

As to the indorsement of the Democratic record in controlling the Government, the Nashville, Tennessee, "Banner" (Dem.) remarks: "It is that record on which the party can . . . to the greatest advantage go before the country. It should make more votes than any 'paramount' issue proposed in the Convention." Indeed, in the words of the New Orleans "Times-Picayune" (Dem.): "The summary of achievements under a Democratic Administration recalls to most minds many things half forgotten, and to some minds certain good things completely lost sight of." The Chicago "News" (Ind. Rep.), however, says of Chairman Cummings's "keynote" speech, recounting the Administration's achievements, that it might have served admirably to herald the appearance of the President as a candidate for a third term, but that "for any other purpose it fell short."

But a keynote speech is, after all, not worth much unless supported by sturdy planks in the platform. The chief plank was that of an indorsement of the President's views concerning the League of Nations. A very general opinion was voiced by the New York "Times" (Dem.) in its report of Mr. Cummings's speech: "From this moment," it asserted, "there can be no doubt about the dominant issue of the campaign." The San Francisco "Chronicle" (Rep.) puts it this way:

> When the President states that he has perfect confidence that the Democratic Convention will indorse the League Covenant, . . . that is virtually an order to the Convention to make that indorsement under penalty of a split in the party. . . .
>
> The President . . . declares that the issue is whether the American people will repudiate the pledges they have made. That gets us to the real issue. The American people have made no promise, Congress has made no promise, the Senate has made no promise. If any promise has been made, it has been solely by Woodrow Wilson. . . . The President assumes that he alone has power to pledge the American Nation and that whatever promise he makes must be indorsed by the Senate as a matter of routine. . . .
>
> The people . . . want to know who will defend the doctrine if the President is a dictator. Will the Convention meet that issue?

It did. In the Boston "Transcript's (Rep.) opinion, "the Administration suffered a wholly unlooked-for reverse. The Committee's original text, it appears, as under the President's influence, was thus worded: "We recommend ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations' Covenant without reservations which would impair its essential integrity." Nevertheless Mr. Bryan, Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, the two Senators Walsh (one from Massachusetts, the other from Montana), and other "insurgents" as the "Transcript" calls them, actually succeeded in adding this phrase: "But [we] do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates." Another Republican paper, however, the Philadelphia "Public Ledger," does not agree to the "reverse." It concedes that "the Democrats have taken by far the better fighting position on the subject of the Treaty and the League of Nations," and for this reason:

> With much adroitness they have framed a declaration to which even the President can give his adherence and yet, at the same time, they have avoided any expressions which will weaken or divert the allegiance of those who believe that the position of the United States will be strengthened by certain reservations explaining the meaning of the Treaty provision and safeguarding the National interests.

The next most important plank, it was expected, would be that concerning prohibition. As to it the Indianapolis "News" (Rep.), while declaring that "the 'wets' got the worst of it," records that "the President prefers platform silence on the subject, it is understood," and the President's desires were followed.

If the work of the Committee on Resolutions was thus criticised, that of the Committee on Rules, also important, received both attack and commendation by the Providence "Journal" (Rep.). As to the unit rule, "the Republicans repudiated it forty years ago. . . . State laws are tending to interfere with it." While the Democrats do not yet admit every member of an "open convention" to "cast his vote according to his unterrified choice," and are thus to be blamed for unfairness, the "Journal" records the Rules Committee's action in recommending "exemption from the unit rule of delegates elected under the State primary laws by districts." Another ruling calls for the "Journal's" special commendation, that of "scheduling the nominating speeches ahead of the adoption of the platform."

> It leaves an emotional chasm between the impassioned oratory of the nominators and that item of the business of the Convention in which there is the largest popular interest, the choosing of a Presidential standard-bearer. . . . The delegates have abundant time to read the speeches in type, and they may in consequence dwell less emotionally but more intelligently upon them.

With regard to the work of the Committee on Credentials, the most important contest before it, that of the Georgia delegates, which meant throwing out those representing United States Senator Hoke Smith and Thomas E. Watson, the Atlanta "Constitution" (Dem.) thus warns:

> Should any of the Smith-Watson delegates or their followers . . . decide . . . to split with their party and join hands with the Republican cause in Georgia, . . .

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the people of the State will meet them on the issue made. Georgia is not yet ready to support the Republican party under its Negro régime in this State, as specifically recognized by the National Convention of that party.

And now we come to the candidates. Says the New York "Sun" (Ind.):

> The San Francisco Convention . . . is exposing structural weakness in the Democratic party itself. The organization does not merely appear to be dividing over the cardinal problem of who would be the best man, first to meet the Republican nominee and then to be the Chief Executive of the Nation. . . . It appears to be widely split over the Administration of President Wilson. It appears to be desperately rent over personalities, questions, and issues which keep the factions and their leaders . . . as far apart as the poles. . . .
>
> Bryan and his followers make no secret of the fact that they are irreconcilable with Cox because of the cause for which they declare Cox stands. The followers of Palmer and McAdoo are at one another's throats . . . because of mistrust, jealousy, and recrimination within the very Administration circle itself. They are like a four-mule team harnessed together but all tangled up, their heels flying against one another's ribs.
>
> Mr. Wilson himself could not bring sweet harmony into such an ill-assorted, hopelessly conflicting, and furiously warring following. Mr. Wilson himself, being chiefly responsible for the faction-torn party, . . . might well hesitate to lead it, even if he were again called upon to lead it.

At the same time, so good a political prophet as the New York "Tribune" (Rep.), in common with many another observer, declared that Mr. Wilson could have had the nomination himself if he had given the sign or could have nominated a substitute; that this was so because the majority of the delegates were "hand-picked" office-holders or associated with the clique of office-holders; that they were Wilson men first, and Palmer, McAdoo, Davis, Glass, or Cummings men afterwards. The Springfield "Republican" (Ind.) also says:

> The time has come to recognize the fact that if Mr. Wilson were in good enough health and wanted a third nomination, it would be all over but the shouting at San Francisco. . . . The political significance of Mr. Wilson's unshaken supremacy in his own party is yet to be defined by events.

The reply to the charge of a Wilson domination of the Convention is partially given by the New York "World" (Dem.) in noting that "the two aspirants most closely associated with him [the President], McAdoo and Palmer, have developed intense personal hostility. If either of them had the special favor of the White House the present situation could not have developed." Moreover, the "World" declared that the members and former members of the Cabinet at the Convention were not working in concert.

As to a Wilson domination with a third-term purpose behind it, the Baltimore "Sun" affirms:

> Mr. Wilson is, of course, more concerned about the triumph of his principles and policies than anything else. He naturally wants to have his course vindicated at the November elections. If he is nominated, . . . that becomes impossible. . . . The people . . . will not elect an ill man to an office whose duties require perfect health in the occupant. . . . Millions of admirers of the President would vote against him. . . . His nomination, then, would be the surest method of defeating the cause which he has at heart.

For similar reasons, the hope of the Hartford "Courant" (Rep.), which said that it would "rather see Woodrow Wilson nominated than any other Democrat," was destined to disappointment. The "Courant's" first reason was that the country might show Mr. Wilson "what it thinks of his autocratic un-American course." The second reason was because "his nomination would assure the election of Harding."

Will the Cox nomination assure that election? That is the question. The consensus of most newspapers is that Cox, the candidate of many Democratic opponents of the President, is as dangerous and doughty an antagonist as the Democrats could name; first, because his nomination is a smashing defeat for the Administration candidates, and will thus instantly weaken the Republicans' expected attack on the Administration's record; second, because it is the most signal defeat ever suffered by Bryan at the hands of a Democratic convention. It will thus strengthen the great middle element in the Democratic party, which is neither Wilsonian nor Bryanite.

The Cox nomination also rather detracts from the New York "Times's" prophecy that the League of Nations is to be *the* issue, and gives point to the long-maintained contention of many newspapers that the race would be one between "wets" and "drys."

The New York "Evening Post," a warm supporter of President Wilson's policies but avowedly independent in politics, regards Cox as the most desirable of the three leading candidates for the Democratic nomination, but points out that he was the choice of the Tammany leader, Murphy, and others of the Democratic Old Guard, partly because of his "wet" attitude, partly because of his capacity as a vote getter, and partly because he is regarded as "safe and sane." Its conclusions may be summarized in this quotation from its editorial:

> The present political situation is singularly difficult for the independent liberal. Neither the Republican party nor the Democratic has any clear claim to his vote. In both parties the less liberal element has reasserted itself. The Penroses and the Taggarts have come to life again and are once more conspicuous figures in their respective party councils. Both camps are putting harmony above everything else. In each there has been a recession from the more inspired idealism of Roosevelt and Wilson. . . . The independent liberal thus assumes an attitude of watchful waiting, not because he enjoys sitting on the fence, but because to get off on either side now would be to take a leap in the dark.

V—JAMES MIDDLETON COX: A SKETCH

THIS is the first Presidential campaign in which a nominee for the highest office has been a journalist by profession; it is of course, therefore, the first in which both nominees have been.

Moreover, both are from Ohio. Both were born poor. Both had to struggle to gain an education and a livelihood.

James Middleton Cox, the Democratic nominee, is fifty year old; Warren Gamaliel Harding, the Republican nominee, is nearly fifty-five years old. Mr. Cox was born on a farm in Jacksonburg, Butler County, Ohio, not far from the village of Blooming Grove, Morrow County, where Mr. Harding was born.

Governor Cox is the son of Gilbert and Eliza Cox, the father being of English, the mother of German blood. Young James spent his boyhood on his father's farm, using his spare time in selling newspapers, serving as the janitor of a village church, and working as printer's "devil" in a newspaper office. He attended the local public school and the high school at the neighboring town of Amanda, in Butler County. Two years as school-teacher followed.

But school teaching was not active enough for his temperament. He had sold newspapers and had helped to print them. His brother-in-law, John Q. Baker, "ran" the sleepy "Signal," published in Middleton, Ohio. When the young man criticised the paper's lack of lively reporting, Baker replied exactly to the youth's liking: "Join the staff and do the job yourself. I'll give you ten dollars a week." The result was that the day was abnormal when anything vivid escaped the new reporter's notice. Cox also served as the Middleton correspondent of the Cincinnati "Enquirer." The connection ultimately led to his joining the editorial staff of that paper. Here he came into contact with Paul Sorg, Representative in Congress, with whom he went to Washington as private secretary. Three years later he returned to newspaper work, buying the moribund Dayton "Times," which he rechristened the "News," and so revivified it that five years later he bought the Springfield (Ohio) "Press Republic," also renaming it the "News." He has conducted these papers jointly, and their success may be compared to that of Mr. Harding's Marion "Star."

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JAMES MIDDLETON COX

The Democratic Nominee for the Presidency

Ten years after Cox had left Mr. Sorg as private secretary, on the latter's death, he was elected to succeed him as Representative at Washington. He served in the Sixty-first and Sixty-second Congresses. He was appointed a member of the Appropriations Committee. When he made his first speech, "Uncle Joe" Cannon, it is said, inquired, "Who's the kid?" But the speech showed that Cox knew well what he was talking about. As the young man sat down "Uncle Joe" remarked, "He'll do."

Cox's experience on the Appropriations Committee, it is interesting to note, showed him that we should have a National budget system. In 1912, when he was first elected Governor of Ohio, he obtained the adoption of that system in the State. It reduced expenses and enabled the State to meet the greater cost of government due to the war without invoking any new source of revenue. Some other results of Governor Cox's first term as Governor were:

A saloon licensing system, limiting the number of saloons by population.

Appointment instead of election of tax assessors.

Consolidation of State departments.

A Civil Service system for State, city, and county officers.

The initiative and referendum in State legislation.

A direct primary election system.

Home rule for cities.

A non-partisan judiciary.

Compulsory provision for mothers' pensions.

A revised school code and the systematizing of the public school districts; additional pay for teachers.

A Workmen's Compensation Law; it has been accepted as a model by other progressive States.

Two years later Cox was a candidate for re-election, but was defeated. In another two years, however, he was returned as Governor, and in 1918 was re-elected, running 75,000 votes ahead of the Congressional ticket and being the one Democratic State officer elected. He and the late President Hayes were the only men who have ever served for three terms as Governor of Ohio.

With the adoption of the new Ohio Constitution, advocated by Mr. Cox, and his election for his first term as Governor, coincident therewith, a Democratic Legislature was chosen. During his second term of office he also had the advantage of a Democratic Legislature, but during his third term he had to face a Republican Legislature, and this meant resort to the veto power.

His incumbency has been distinguished by several graphic incidents. The first was that of the floods of 1913. The Governor took personal charge of the matter, declaring martial law throughout the ravaged districts.

The second was the threat of a great railway strike. Governor Cox telegraphed to the President declaring his readiness for any emergency, and that if it was necesary to avoid a food famine or to cooperate with the President in the crisis he would proclaim martial law, take possession of the railways, and run them. He said:

> We are not looking for precedent. The law of the human heart becomes the law of the land. Martial law displaces all other law. Our creed will be "justice to our people and help to our President."

He met other strikes in similar manner. During the steel strike, for instance, while the right of free speech was not infringed, property damage was prevented.

When the coal strike came on, Governor Cox called separate conferences of all the operators and miners in the State and obtained from them agreements to leave the matter of settlement in his hands. He had planned the outcome in such a way as to bring immediate agreement of the warring factions with the Federal Government.

Mr. Cox is known for his crusades against the high cost of living. In the course of these he has secured seed corn for the farmers, has proceeded against cold-storage operators, and has extended the use of tractors to meet the shortage of farm labor.

Mr. Cox believes that a considerable factor in the high cost of living is the continuance of the excess profits tax. Concerning this he has said:

> In establishing the selling price of its produce every business establishment sets aside a reasonable profit and then adds to it the amount that must be paid to the Government. This is done in turn by the manufacturer, the jobber, the distributer, and the retailer, the inevitable result being a staggering cost to the consumer.

Governor Cox would supplant the excess profits tax by applying a tax of from one to one and a half per cent on the volume of business done by any going concern.

As to foreign affairs, some pronouncements by Governor Cox are noteworthy. The first concerns Bolshevism. He says:

> The surest death to Bolshevism is exposure of the germ of the disease itself to the sunlight of public view. In the old days the treatment for scarlet fever consisted of an intensive attack on the high temperature of fever. The result was a reaction on vital organs that left permanent affliction. Now the fever, under restraint, is permitted to run its course, and what was once regarded as

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a very serious ailment is little more than a simple malady.

Whatever physicians may think of the therapeutics of this, it serves as a political metaphor.

The other pronouncement is about the League of Nations. Mr. Cox suggested that with the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles a note should be appended to the effect that the League of Nations "was devised for the sole purpose of maintaining peace and comity among the nations of the earth and preventing the recurrence of such destructive conflicts as that through which the world has just passed. The co-operation of the United States with the League and its continuance as a member thereof will naturally depend upon the adherence of the League to that fundamental purpose." While the League's charter might not be a perfect document, he added, it would do more in six months to bring the world back to the normal than could be done in two years by independent action on the part of the nations. He then paid his respects to the Republicans who were endeavoring to Americanize the Treaty:

> The Republican Senatorial cabal insists that the treaty be Americanized. Suppose that Italy asked that it be Italianized, France that it be Frenchized, Britain that it be Britainized, and so on down the line? The whole thing would result in a perfect travesty.

Of less interest but still perhaps worth noting is Mr. Cox's opinion concerning self-determination in government—supposed to have been aimed towards securing the Irish vote:

> The San Francisco Convention emphasized the Democratic belief in the principle of self-determination in government. Our citizens will not deny to any race on earth the right to hold the emotion which stirred the founders of this Republic.

But it is with regard to prohibition that Mr. Cox's name has been most prominent. He has always been regarded as an opponent of prohibition. The Anti-Saloon League, arrayed against him at every election, was particularly hostile to him when he declined to recommend that the Democrats in the Legislature should vote in favor of prohibition. It now says:

> Governor Cox's record makes him an impossibility if National prohibition is to be effectively sustained and enforced. He has served the "wets" long and faithfully. He championed the license law of Ohio, under which he had the appointing power of license boards to build a strong political machine. His declaration for a light wine and beer amendment will alienate not only the "drys" but the friends of law and order.

To this Mr. Bryan added:

> Governor Cox's record is as malodorous as Governor Edwards's and extends over a longer period. He has never lifted his hand nor used his voice for the adoption or enforcement of law prohibiting the beverage liquor traffic.

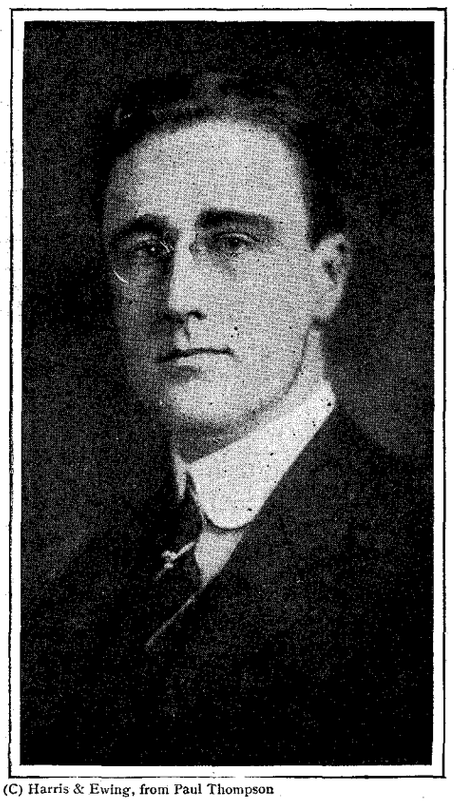
Divorced by his first wife, Mr. Cox was married in 1917 to Miss Margaret Blair, daughter of Thomas S. Blair, Jr., of Chicago. Governor Cox is a member of the Episcopal Church. His home is at "Trailsend," Dayton, Ohio, and also at the old farm near Jacksonburg where he was born, which he has bought back and has made of it a model farm.

VI—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: A SNAPSHOT

TO all who know him or are informed concerning his record in office the Democratic ticket seems much the stronger for the nomination of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, for the Vice-Presidency. He is a gentleman of liberal culture, of high character, an able and upright public servant who possesses not a few of the political and personal qualities of his distinguished cousin, Theodore Roosevelt.

The careers of these cousins have been singularly alike. Both were educated at Harvard. Before they were thirty years old both men became members of the New York State Legislature. In their thirties both served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy and at periods when the United States was about to engage in a foreign war. Both were nominated for the Vice-Presidency when exceptionally young—Theodore Roosevelt was forty-two; Franklin Roosevelt is only thirty-eight years old.

From Groton School, through Harvard and the Columbia Law School, Franklin Roosevelt brought to his law practice in New York City a well-trained mind and a singularly engaging personality. His reputation has been enhanced by his independent and courageous course in politics. He entered the New York Senate in 1910, and in its sessions gained applause as an anti-Tammany Democrat, particularly in the successful fight by nineteen insurgents, of whom he was chief, against Mr. Sheehan's candidacy for the United States Senate. Despite Tammany opposition, Mr. Roosevelt was re-elected State Senator in 1912, carrying a district which went strongly Republican for the other candidates.



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FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

The Democratic Nominee for the Vice-Presidency

That was a Presidential year. Mr. Roosevelt was among the first to espouse Mr. Wilson's cause and thwart Tammany objections to it. His reward came when in March, 1913, his was among the very first of Mr. Wilson's appointments. During the war, in Secretary Daniels's absence, Mr. Roosevelt was several times called upon to take charge of the Department, and was also his representative at certain naval conferences in Europe. His acute perception of actual facts has more than once saved the Department from error.

The question now arises whether, in conceding the Vice-Presidency to the Wilson forces, the Tammany men, after their victorious espousal of Cox for the Presidency, will loyally support the Vice-Presidential candidate. In the San Francisco Convention Mr. Roosevelt was one of the protestants against the continuance of the State unit rule (which would have allowed the Tammany chief to cast the entire State vote); he also led the anti-Tammany element among the New York delegates in voting for McAdoo. Aside from Mr. Roosevelt's personal qualifications, the Democrats, whether of the Tammany or of the Wilson wing, are of course not oblivious of the fact that New York's vote seems essential to victory.

His attractive personality, his firmness, modesty, frankness, and discretion make for him friends, and arouse confidence in him even among his political opponents. He has the spirit of the progressive, but has the poise and common sense that do not always characterize the progressive spirit. He has been at the other extreme of his party from Tammany Hall, but apparently has aroused no rancor. In the Legislature he worked for reform measures. In the Navy Department his service has been of inestimable value, for whatever success has attended the civilian administration of the Navy has been due chiefly to his foresight and administrative efficiency. There are few men in his party who are as fit for the Presidency as this distant cousin of a former President.

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IRELAND AND ENGLAND

BY J. D. HACKETT

HOW does it come that an "American in England" writes about Ireland? Would it not sound strange if your correspondent in The Outlook of May 26 contributed an article entitled "England, by an American in Ireland," or in Scotland or in Wales?

"There are some simple truths," the author airily says, "which should be kept in mind." "Ireland was never a nation." That may be true, though no less a personage than Lloyd George has granted the nationality of the Irish. But the present Irish attitude is that, nation or no nation, they want their independence.

> She has been a small, unprogressive country.

Why is Ireland unprogressive? Has she not been ruled by England for seven hundred years? Is Ireland unprogressive in spite of everything that England has been able to do?

> The geographical position of Ireland . . . makes her tranquillity a capital question in England.

Her tranquillity is also a capital question to Ireland. Must Ireland be sacrificed to English security as Belgium was to German necessities?

> Equally, can Ireland subsist or even exist without England?

The Irish population in 1841 was 8,175,124; in 1911 it was 4,390,219—that is, the population has been reduced nearly fifty per centum in seventy years. Continuance of this kind of subsistence would end Irish existence. Nationalistic enmities do not interfere with trade. England is already trading with her German enemy, and she now buys $400,000,000 worth of foodstuffs from Ireland because she gets them cheaper than elsewhere. This trade will undoubtedly continue, no matter what relations exist between the two countries.

> Should the last political link with England be broken, would not England have at her very door an avowed enemy, free, were she able, to destroy her?

Professor MacNeill, Minister of Industries of the Irish Republic, in an interview with the Chicago "Tribune" says: "I believe an independent Ireland would be England's firmest friend." No one will admit, however, that England, mistress of the seas, is seriously afraid that Ireland will chew her up.

> Sinn Fein is to-day supreme in Ireland. . . . Ireland is terrorized by Sinn Fein.

It does not sound even passably plausible that Sinn Fein is both supreme and terrorizing Ireland at the same time.

> If the Unionist leaves his home, he is followed and likely to be robbed. His home, his very life, is in danger.

All this is innuendo. The charges are more easily made than substantiated. As a matter of fact, the Unionists are referred to as "contented" in another part of the article.

> It is as though the Irish who remained loyal to the Empire were in enemy country.

Here is an unconscious piece of truth. The Irishman who is "loyal to the Empire" is regarded as an enemy of Ireland. The Englishman in America who was loyal to England in Washington's time was regarded as an enemy.

> The belief is held generally that separation is not desired by the bulk of the people.

Seventy-three per cent of the Irish people voted for Sinn Fein and independence at the last general election. Can there be any stronger proof of the desires of the Irish people?

> Can Ireland subsist economically without England?

Ireland is striving to break away because she does not believe she can subsist economically with England. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whose authority the vast majority of the Irish people repudiate, is paid by England out of Irish funds three times as much as is paid to the President of the United States, representing a hundred million people.

> Before the war Ireland received as a free gift from the British Treasury one and a half million pounds sterling more than she contributed.

This is much less than half the story. Lord MacDonnell, at the Queen's University, Belfast, said, in 1911: "Up to date I make the total contribution to Great Britain to be £325,000,000 . . . tribute . . . over and above the cost of Irish administration."

> Reckoned per head, taxation at the census in England, Wales, and Scotland was about £19; in Ireland, £8 13*s*.

Reckoned according to taxable capacity, the story is altogether different. English income is vastly more than twice Irish income, yet the tax is only double. Does England desire that positions should be reversed?

> Their food supplies were protected by the English to their own detriment by the prohibition of exports of food products from Ireland in order that the Irish people should not suffer.

The Irish press did not say so during the war. It does not say so to-day. The Ministry of Food in 1919 prohibited the shipment of cattle from Dublin not because of consideration for the Irish people but because the slaughtering and distributing arrangements at Birkenhead were glutted.

> Conscription in Ireland would no doubt have improved the state of things by bringing the young men out of Ireland.

The more Ireland is depleted of its manhood, the easier becomes English rule. The Irish repudiated conscription. They said: "We must be free ourselves before we go fighting for the freedom of others"—a perfectly reasonable position.

> It was a misfortune for Ireland that at this critical moment courage was wanting at Downing Street to coerce the Irish.

Courage may have been lacking, but common sense prevailed. Even Lloyd George was convinced of the folly of trying to make men fight against their wills.

> It is but too true that Ireland has suffered in the past.

The Irish are not worrying themselves over past wrongs. They look with hope and confidence to the future.

> As to politics, Ireland is to-day largely over-represented in Westminster.

Not one of the 73 Sinn Fein members of Parliament has ever set foot in Westminster. Twenty Unionists and ten Nationalists as a maximum have gone to Westminster in the last year and a half. This does not look like over-representation.

> Englishmen will be satisfied if only Irishmen will be content, that is, with anything short of complete separation, and that proviso is only made because England without it would feel herself threatened as a nation.

Vain hope. Irishmen will not be contented without complete separation even to oblige England. Is Ireland so powerful as to threaten the existence of that Empire upon which the sun never sets? This is the kind of argument the Germans used when ravaging Belgium.

> On May 10, 1916, John Redmond . . . issued a manifesto.

Yes, and the answer was to sweep his manifesto and his party both into the discard within two years.

> England cannot be said to be an oppressive political administrator anywhere.

The Amritsar report has just been issued. Egypt is in turmoil and Ireland is now ruled by force of arms.

The current news is: "Aside from the fresh troops recently sent to Ireland, eight more battalions are held in reserve." ("Times," May 27, 1920.) There are 50,000 English troops, 10,000 armed constabulary, tanks, machine guns, and airplanes in large numbers. The inhabitants are naturally refusing to handle the munitions now being landed in Ireland to support the "unoppressive" political administration.

> They [the Sinn Feinidhe] drown the voices of the contented—the Unionists in the south and west. . . . The number of these is less.

The number of Unionists is less, very much less, than the Sinn Finn; so much,

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indeed, that they could elect only one member of Parliament for three elected by Sinn Fein. This contented Unionist cannot be one and the same person who is represented in a previous portion of the article as being likely to be robbed, whose home and very life are in danger

> To many observers the root of the disturbance to-day . . . lies in the Church of Rome.

The religious bogy again. The root of the disturbance is not bad government, not English government, not foreign dominance which three-fourths of the people repudiate absolutely, but the Church of Rome, which seventy-four per cent accept!

> Governance by the Church is placed before that of the state in the minds of the Catholic majority.

Here we have an unconscious confession that the majority repudiate the state. In Ireland, then, there is not, after all, government of the people, by the people, for the people, or anything like it. May not this have something to do with the present trouble?

> An illiterate priesthood is thus largely the instructor of the youth of Ireland.

Two misstatements here. The priesthood is not illiterate. The priests are no more the instructors of the youth of Ireland than they are of the youth of America.

> England offers free secular education to all.

That is just the trouble. Ireland objects to an "English system" of education, whether free or not.

> A large percentage of the Irish population can neither read nor write.

And this after seven hundred years of beneficent English rule and a system of "free English secular education offered to all"! But is it true? The illiteracy of Irish immigrants from 1910 to 1914 was only 1.2 per cent.

> The English people are free with money, and their individual aid in money and gifts to their more suffering allies during the war.

With whose money? Her debt to the United States of over four billion remains unpaid, both as to principal and interest.

> How many Americans are aware that in 1870 the British Government made a free grant to Ireland of millions of pounds that Irish farmers might own their own farms?

This can be answered by saying, "None." The fact is that, under pressure of the land agitation, England raised money, on the security of Irish land, and lent it at an advantageous rate of interest to the farmers to buy out the landlords. See page 752 of The Outlook of April 28.

> How much money, first and last, has England spent on Ireland?

George Russell says in the "Freeman" of April 28: "Irish surpluses varying during the past century from two to five million pounds annually were exported to Great Britain and spent there. . . . In this new bill it is provided that Ireland shall export eighteen million pounds annually as tribute to Great Britain."

> A permanent settlement in Ireland . . . can come only through enlightenment.

The purpose of these comments is to offer enlightenment where it appears to be most needed.

PAINLESS TAXATION

A POSSIBLE SUBSTITUTE FOR THE INCOME TAX

BY THEODORE H. PRICE

WE hear much about the incidence of taxation these days. There is a law of physics which asserts that the angle of reflection is always equal to the angle of incidence. This is the law upon which the billiard player relies when he calculates that a ball striking the cushion at one angle will rebound at the same angle, just as a ray of light directed at a mirror at an angle of, say, thirty degrees will be reflected at the same angle in an opposing direction.

But the angle of reflection in taxation is not always equal to the angle of incidence. It varies in every case, and this is the reason why it has always been so difficult to foresee the effect of any given scheme for raising the revenue required for the support of the Government. It is said that there is nothing certain but death and taxes, and, since they are inevitable, all we can hope is that they should be deferred as long as possible and made as nearly painless as anything unpleasant can be.

By long-time bond issues that posterity will have to meet we endeavor to defer taxation, and by making it indirect so that we will not be acutely conscious of it we strive to mitigate its pain. The question of whether and in how far the living are justified in creating debts that will have to be paid by those who are yet to be born is, and always will be, debatable. The statement that "a public debt is a public blessing" is attributed to Alexander Hamilton, though it is to be doubted whether it was original with him, and also doubtful whether he would have expressed such an opinion if he were alive to-day and were a holder of Liberty Bonds bought at par and now worth only 85.

But be this as it may, we are enjoying the blessing of a large public debt at present. Its maturity is fixed. There is little present probability that it will be refunded so as to defer its maturity, and our pressing problem is to devise some way of raising the money that Uncle Sam needs to pay interest and expenses by taxes whose angle of incidence will be so obtuse that we will be obtuse to their reflection.

In an attempt to solve this problem we may as well admit that it is almost more desirable that a tax should be painless than that it should be equitable, if, indeed, there is any scheme of taxation that will be equitable.

Viewed in the abstract and before we had it, an income tax seemed to be as nearly equitable as any form of taxation could be. It appeared to be absolutely fair that those who had big incomes should pay more than their less fortunate brethren, for it seemed indubitable that it cost the Government more to protect the property of the man who was worth ten million dollars than it did to secure the life and liberty of the pauper.

But experience has taught us that the effect of the income tax is only to raise the cost of the things that the poor man must have, because those who have the ability to earn large incomes, being in a small minority, are able to demand higher prices for the services they perform, and so pass the taxes that they pay on to the large majority by increasing the cost of living. The same statement is even more true of the excess profits tax, which really tends to protect monopoly and gives a tremendous advantage to the large manufacturer or merchant who is willing to use his excess profit in smothering his small competitors by expending it for selling and advertising campaigns instead of paying it to the Government.

Translated into its equivalent in energy, the excess profits tax also bears very heavily upon insurance corporations and savings banks in whose earnings millions of people are interested as stockholders or depositors.

This is vividly set forth in an address to his stockholders made by the Chairman of the Royal Insurance Company of Liverpool, one of the great English insurance companies that does all sorts of insurance business all over the world and pays taxes in almost every country. Speaking of the large portion of his company's profits that was paid on account of the income and excess profits duties, he said: "We estimate that we shall have to pay in all for the year 1920 £1,200,000 in taxes. This is a very large sum indeed, and you cannot help being struck with the very large proportion of our profits which has thus to be paid away. I calculate that out of every pound which we shall earn in profits and interest at least 13*s.* 4*d.* will go in taxation. Translated into terms of energy, this means that our six thousand employees, of many races and many climes, spend two-thirds of

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their working hours as unpaid tax collectors for the treasuries of the world. If they start work at 9:30, their energies up to 2:30 are thus expended, and only after that hour for the benefit of the shareholders."

It is all very well and it seems very just to insist that those who have the most should pay the most, but the difficulty is to make them do it without confiscating property and killing the initiative of the very small number who have enterprise, intelligence, and ability that are requisite for leadership in the development of the country. Very few of us realize how small this number is, for not many have studied the United States income tax returns, which show that in the year 1917 (the last year for which the statistics have been published) there were, among persons reporting incomes, only

112,502	reporting	incomes	from	$10,000	to $25,000
30,391	"	"	"	25,000	" 50,000
12,439	"	"	"	50,000	" 100,000
3,302	"	"	"	100,000	" 150,000
2,347	"	"	"	150,000	" 300,000
559	"	"	"	300,000	" 500,000
315	"	"	"	500,000	" 1,000,000
141	"	"	over	$1,000,000	
161,996					

In other words, there were only 161,996 persons in the United States, or less than two-tenths of one per cent of our population, who reported incomes of over $10,000, and, while the number may have been slightly increased since, it is a question whether we are wise in raising the general cost of living as it has been raised by the income and excess profits taxes in an unsuccessful effort to make the two people in every thousand who are successful or fortunate pay heavier taxes than the other 998.

No scheme of taxation can be absolutely equitable. The income tax and the supertax as now levied are but an approximation, and a very rough approximation, to justice. They are inquisitional, provoke resentment, throttle ambition, and give an enormous advantage to the man who is able or willing to stop working and put his capital in non-taxable bonds.

Can we not find some tax that will provide the Government with the revenue required that will be less objectionable, just as equitable, and less acute in its angle of incidence and the pain with which it is reflected?

That taxation should be painless, or rather, that we should be insensible to its pain, it is necessary that it should be paid in small amounts and automatically. It is far easier for most of us to pay one cent a day than $3.65 at the end of the year, and if we pay the cent a day in the process of buying something that costs more than a penny we are almost unconscious of the contribution that we make.

There are few who realize or resist the tax that we pay on the cigarettes or cigars that we smoke or the taxes that we used to pay on the beer and whisky that we drank. The tax paid on freight bills is another contribution of which we are unconscious because we don't see it, although we grumble at the tax on passenger tickets because it is directly and visibly added to the cost. Low visibility in taxation is therefore very desirable, provided it does not interfere with an equitable distribution of the burden, and, since the rich man benefits the community by reinvesting his income in productive enterprise, it hardly seems equitable to tax him on more than he spends for his own living and luxury or the support and enjoyment of those who are dependent on him.

All the rest he has to leave here when he dies, and the inheritance tax that his estate has to pay sufficiently penalizes his success to reimburse the State for the cost of protecting his property.

If this view of the case is accepted, we must conclude that a consumption tax, sugar-coated, so that it will not revolt the consumer, is the most satisfactory method that can be followed to raise the revenue that we must have.

But to be sugar-coated a consumption tax must be paid by the seller and included in the price charged, so that the buyer will not realize that he is paying a tax every time he purchases a paper of pins or a dozen eggs. The difficulties in the way of imposing such a tax are not great, for it is easy to discriminate between what we spend and what we save, between our consumption and our investments. Everything that is produced for consumption, use, or comfort, whether it be wheat, jewelry, or an electric fan, ought to pay a tax that would be included in the price charged for it and turned over to the Government by the person who sells it. This is the procedure followed in the case of the tobacco tax, which of all the taxes now paid is the least oppressive and the least resented.

The chief objection to such a tax is that in order to avoid making it discriminatory and make it easily collectable it ought to be imposed on everything alike, on raw material as well as upon the finished article, and that in the case of anything that is at all complex in its composition, such as, for instance, a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, or an automobile, the finished article may have to bear an accumulated tax that would greatly increase its cost. Let us take, for instance, a pair of shoes. The calf that furnished the leather would be taxed when he was sold. His skin would pay another tax when it was bought by the tanner from the packer, and so on up to the final purchaser of the shoes for wear.

The cotton out of which the linings were woven would be taxed when the farmer sold it to the dealer, and taxed again when the dealer sold it to the cotton-mill. It would be taxed a third time when the shoe manufacturer bought it, and pay a fourth tax when the manufacturer sold the finished shoe to the jobber, who would have to add a fifth tax when he sold it to the retailer, who would in turn exact a sixth tax from the ultimate buyer and wearer.

There is something almost terrifying in such a multiplicity of taxes, but it is this very aspect of the plan suggested that is its chief recommendation, for the rate of taxation at each successive transfer of ownership would be so small that it would hardly be felt. Our domestic trade for the year 1918 is estimated by Dr. B. M. Anderson, of the National Bank of Commerce, in New York, at $68,000,000,000, and our foreign trade in the same year was $9,180,000,000.

This total of about $77,000,000,000 represents, as I understand it, the value of the merchandise produced and sold at home or abroad and imported for sale here.

In its progress from the producer to the consumer, through the successive stages of its manufacture or distribution, this merchandise changes hands an average of at least four times, and probably more, before it reaches the final buyer. This gives us a total of over $300,000,000,000 as a basis upon which to calculate our tax rate. Two per cent upon this sum would yield a revenue of $6,000,000,000, which is more than we need and far more than we realize now from the income and excess profits taxes. In some few and highly composite articles, such as an automobile, the increase in cost due to cumulative taxation might be as much as fourteen or sixteen per cent, but in the case of simpler things, like bread and meat, the increase would not be more that four to six per cent, and the fact that each successive transfer imposed an additional tax would tend to discourage speculation and eliminate the intermediaries who now levy such a heavy toll upon the distribution of many staples.

If the tax rate were reduced to a point at which the resulting revenue would be no greater than the sum we now collect, the cost to the community could be no greater, but the burden would be so widely and so evenly distributed that it would hardly be felt, and the great manufacturers who now plead the excess profits and income taxes as an excuse for profiteering would be deprived of the fund that they use at present for advertising and forced into a more equal competition with the smaller producers.

Such a tax could, moreover, be made self-collectable by simply passing a law that would render the seller liable for the value of the property sold in case the tax was not paid within thirty days after the goods left his hands and subject him to imprisonment for fraud if fraudulent intent could be proved.

The only tax returns a merchant or manufacturer would have to make under such a law would be a monthly statement of his sales and a check for two per cent thereon, sent to the Collector of Internal Revenue. There would be few who would attempt to evade such a law, and fewer still after the first few were in prison. The buyer would have nothing to worry about. He would have paid his taxes as he bought his goods, and the increase in their cost made necessary by the Government's requirements would be noiselessly and painlessly absorbed in its successive

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incidences along the line that merchandise travels in its passage from the first producer to the ultimate consumer.

The suggestion offered is crude and it is diffidently submitted, simply as a basis for the discussion of the most important economic question that the next Congress will have to decide. It is a question that every one should consider and upon which after consideration he should express his views to those who make our laws.

That it is a subject concerning which there will always be great difference of opinion and about which most people will change their minds is also obvious. I was myself heartily in favor of the income tax when it was at first proposed. I did not, or could not, foresee the angle of its incidence or the angle of its reflection. Actual experience has convinced me that they are both too acute; that it is a tax which weakens the incentive to success because it makes the Government a partner in the profits of one year and leaves the taxpayer to bear the losses of the next year alone, and that because of its unfairness in this respect it leads those who make and sell the goods that we consume to increase their overhead charges to a point that will always guarantee them against loss. It is for this reason that I advocate its abolition, not in the interest of the few, but of the many upon whose energies and the constancy of whose employment and welfare the progress of the country depends.

THE DENIAL

BY THEODORE MAYNARD

Denying beauty, on we go and on
  Into the sandy desert of the mind
  Where no tree grows, no fruitful thing or kind.
The mirage of reality is gone
  The instant that we look at it. We find
No resting-place. The moon that last night shone,
The naked moon has no pavilion
  In which to hide. The sun has made us blind.

The sun can cast no shadow on the grass.
  No moonlight trembles through the twisted boughs.
All is as blatant and as bright as brass,
  A clarity without perspective. Lost! . . .
Amid the wilderness without a house . . .
  Stripped of the mysteries of clouds and frost!

TELL THE TRUTH PAPERS

BY SHERMAN ROGERS

THE LETTER-CARRIERS

SAMUEL GOMPERS, at the annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, declared himself irrevocably opposed to Government ownership. His statement was directed against the American Federation of Labor indorsing the Plumb Plan, but to those acquainted with the National industrial situation Samuel Gompers's statement is very significant. It goes further than the railways. The main reason for Gompers's anti-Government ownership stand, in my opinion, is the fact that in large Government enterprises the labor element employed is not only held up by red tape but the men do not receive either just or prompt recognition of a reasonable daily wage.

Mr. Gompers has undoubtedly viewed with distress and disgust the predicament of postal employees during the past ten years, and especially during the past four years. He has watched them helplessly floundering, vainly supplicating the powers that be for a just consideration of their plight.

Mr. Gompers realizes that the one great reason for the stationary condition of postal wages was caused by the "unwritten law" that Government employees could not enforce their demands through organized cessation of work.

The writer does not believe that the closed-shop idea should be applied to any branch of the Government service, and yet the present amazing apathy of Congress and Government officials in dealing with the postal situation should give every American who believes in fair wages food for careful thought.

No reasonably minded man in the United States would even think of defending the policy of Congress or the Postal Department in paying their trusted, long-time employees a wage below a decent living standard, and I think every fair-minded man must admit that those engaged in the postal service to-day are not paid a wage commensurate with the cost of living.

Twenty years ago a mail-carrier trod his beat with his chest extended because he was proud of his vocation; proud of the standing it gave him in his community. To-day postal employees never mention the fact that they are postal employees to any new friends they make, and if there is a postal employee proud of his position I have failed to find him.

Loyal to the service? Yes. Thousands of them. Loyal to the service because they have given the greater part of their lives in its employ, and even yet remaining loyal, with the vanishing hope that possibly some day they will be given the consideration to which they are justly entitled. It is remarkable that in this day of high salaries, of high cost of living, the maximum wage of the postal employee is, with the added compensation recently allowed by Congress, only $150 a month, although his position is one of high responsibility, demanding mental and physical qualifications of a higher standard than most any other service.

Small wonder that Samuel Gompers strenuously objected to indorsing Government ownership of the railways, for that industry would put two million employees under the same working conditions as those of the Postal Department.

Mr. Gompers has watched the standard of wages in practically every other walk of life go up by leaps and bounds in the last seven years. At the same time he has witnessed an alarming indifference in the Post Office Department in advancing the wages of the postal employee.

At the present time employees who have been in the Postal Department for three years and six months receive the munificent wage of $100 a month, or less than fifty cents an hour; to be more exact, from forty-one to fifty cents. These men have been compelled to undergo a very strict physical and mental examination, and have been compelled to pass the annual examination that necessitates a great deal of study. Such an employee has worked four years very hard, and

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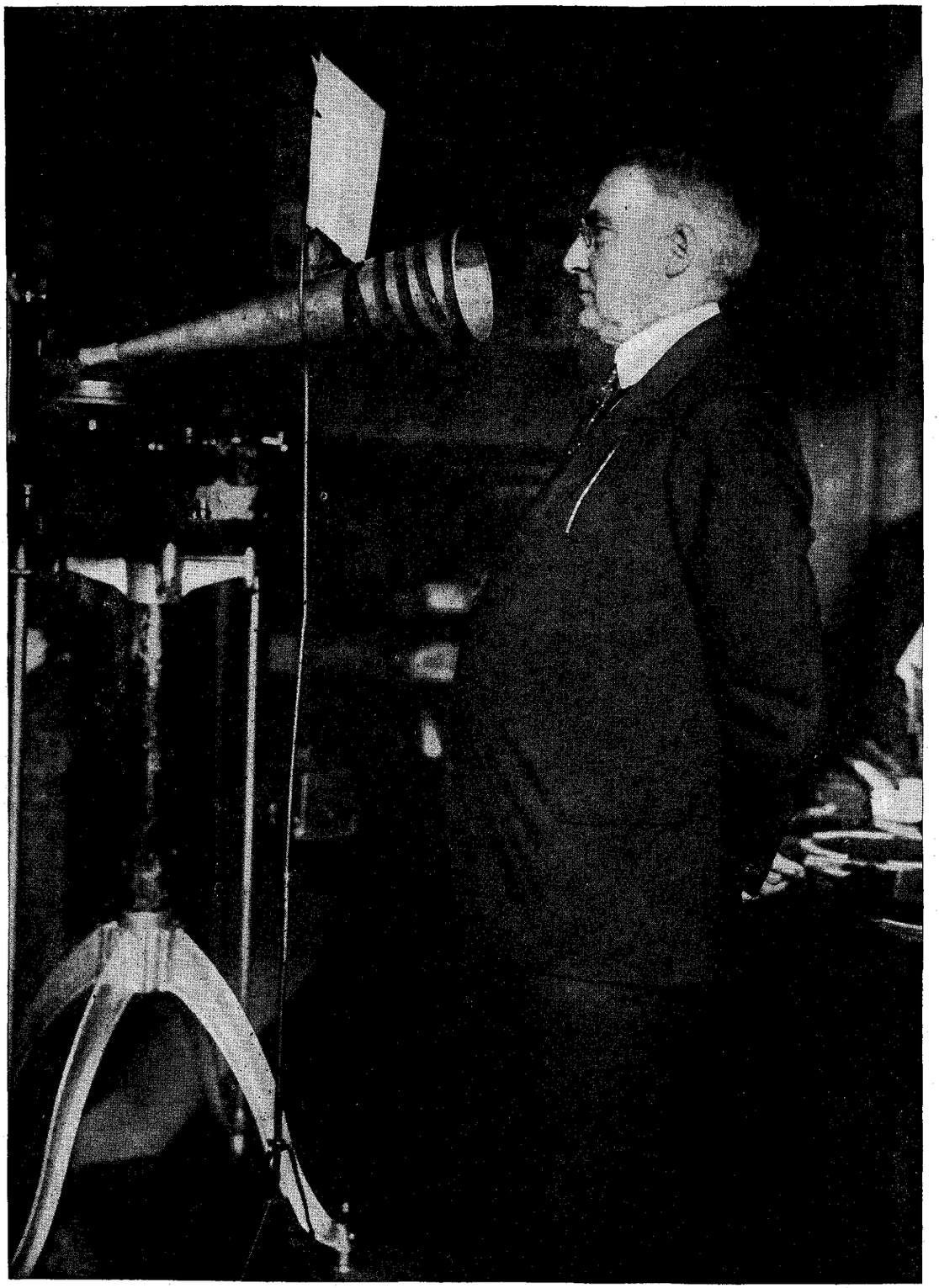

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SENATOR HARDING DELIVERING HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN SPEECH

The subject of the Republican candidate's first campaign speech, delivered in the gramophone, was "Americanism." The record, it is announced, will be widely used in the coming campaign

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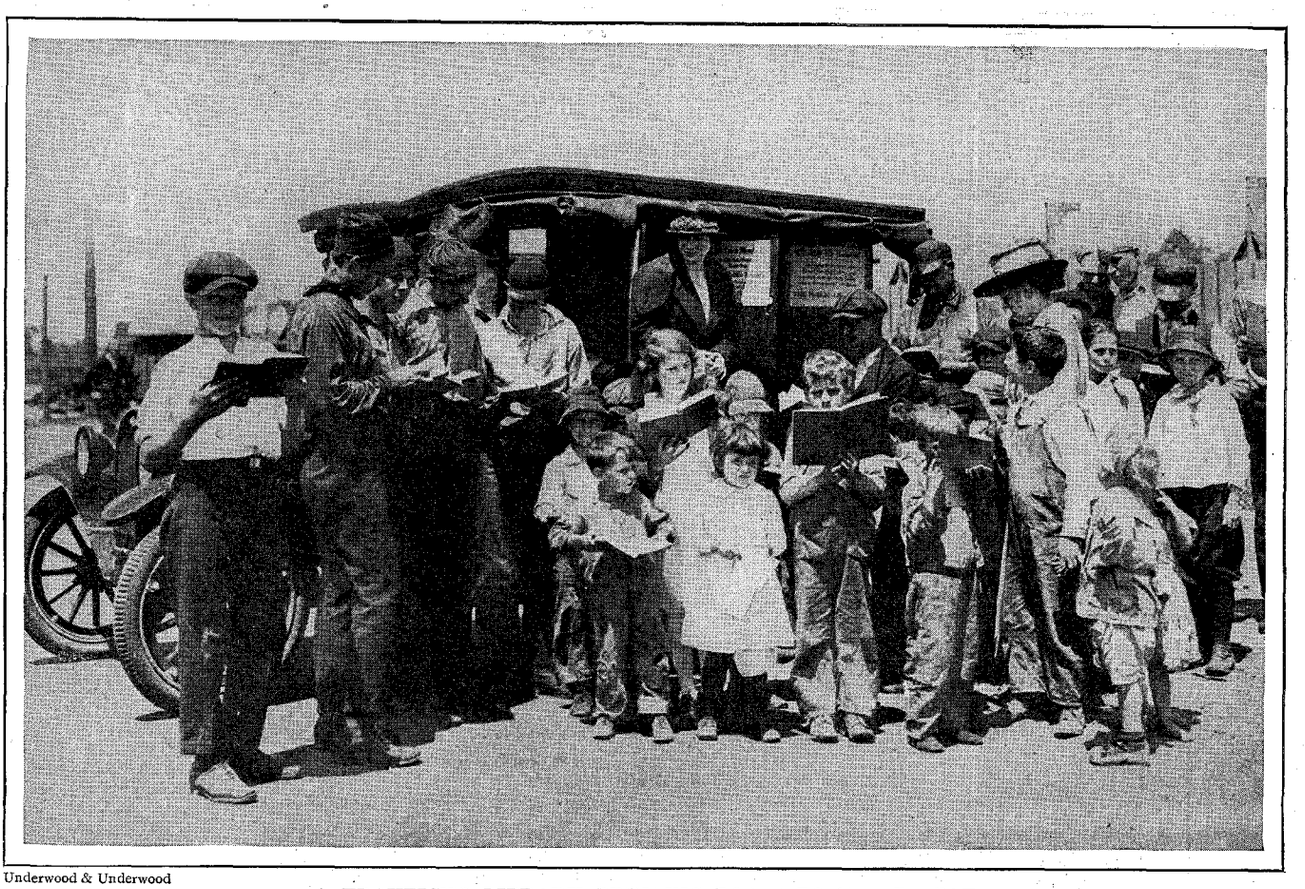
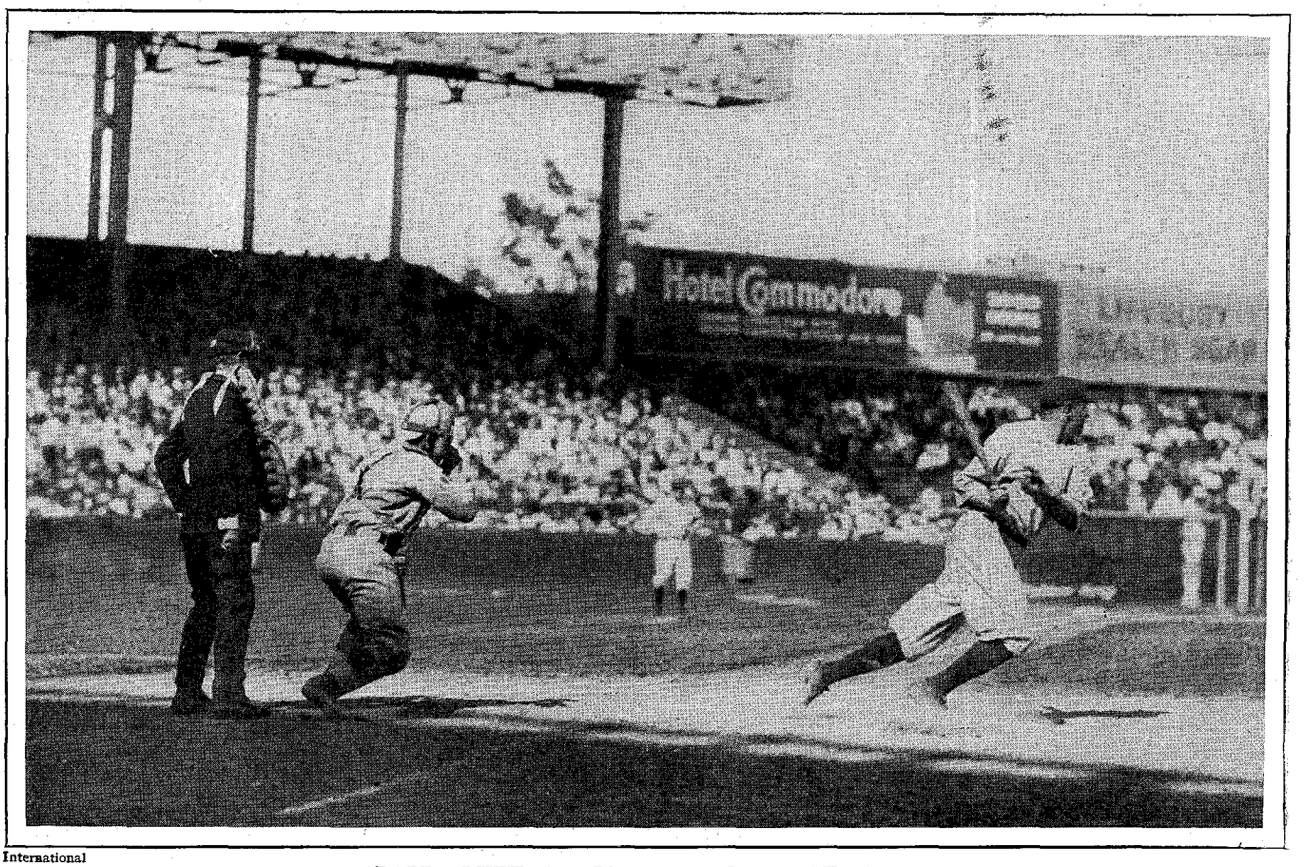


Underwood & Underwood

A TRAVELING LIBRARY BRINGING BOOKS TO THE PEOPLE

This perambulating library is engaged in carrying good literature to the people of Evanston, Illinois. The picture shows the automobile, which is fitted with bookshelves, in a factory district of the city. The books have just been distributed and will on a subsequent visit be collected and then redistributed elsewhere



International

"BABE" RUTH STARTS ON A TOUR OF THE BASES

The photographer has caught Ruth just as he is starting on his twenty-first home run for this season. The ball landed, as usual, somewhere in the right-field bleachers and was not returned till the runner had crossed the home plate

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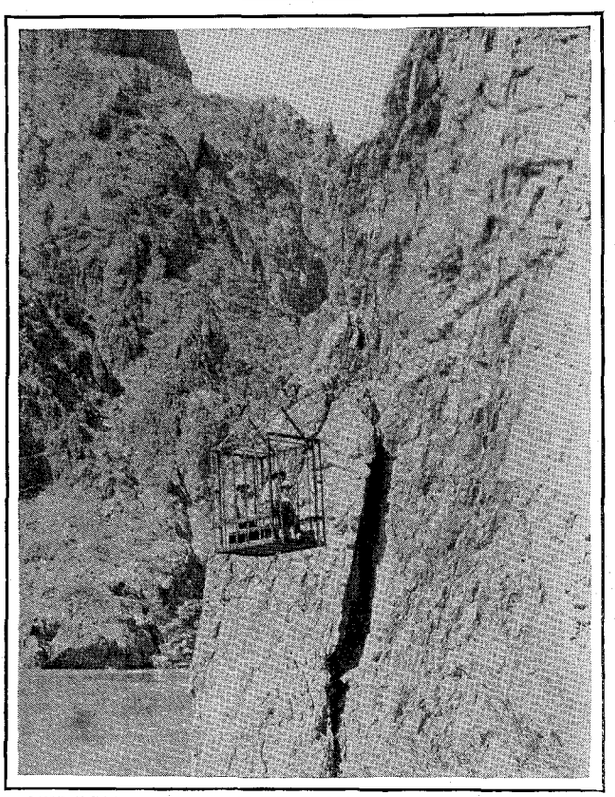
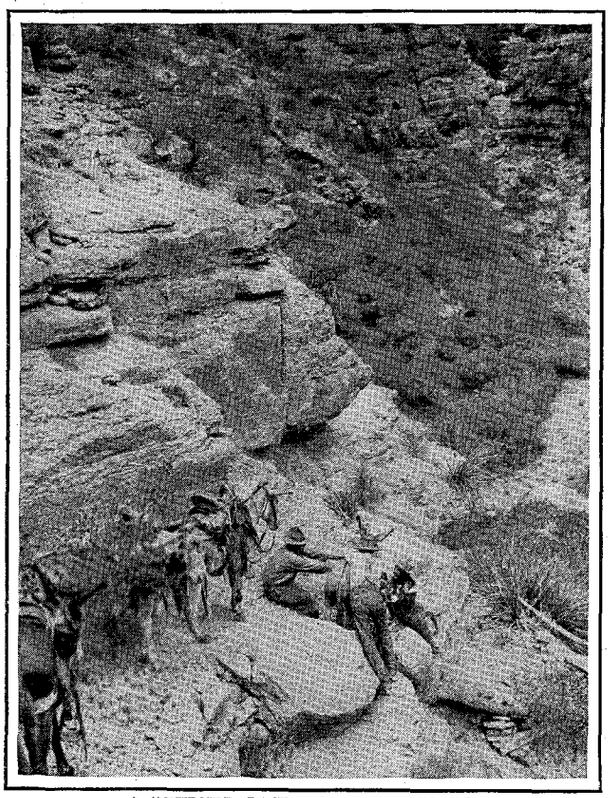
PICTURES FROM OUTLOOK READERS

(See offer on page 479)



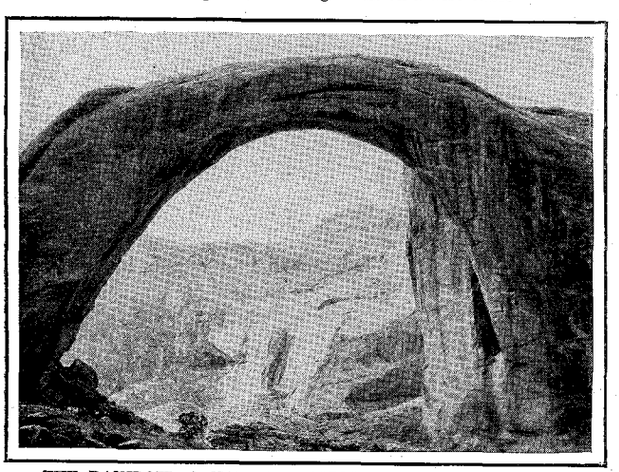
THE "CAGE" IN WHICH WE CROSSED THE GRAND CANYON

This novel kind of a ferry is the only practicable means of crossing the river at this point. The cage runs on a wire cable



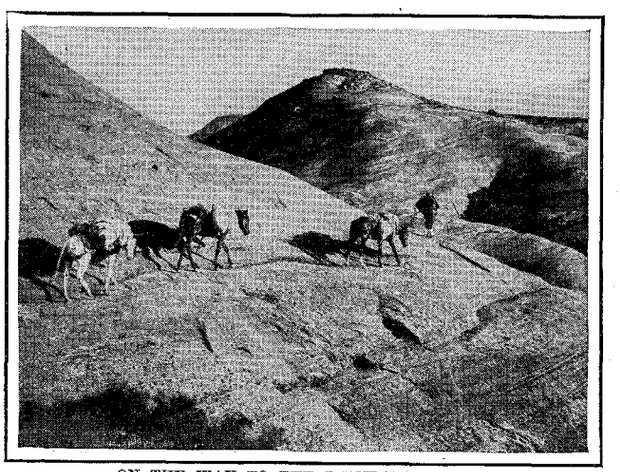
A "TURNED PACK" IN A BAD PLACE

The little mules are very wise and stand still till assistance comes, otherwise they might be thrown off the narrow trail



THE RAINBOW, A NATURAL BRIDGE IN SOUTHERN UTAH

This stupendous bridge is 309 feet high and has a span of 277 feet. Horses (very minute in the picture) may be seen at left

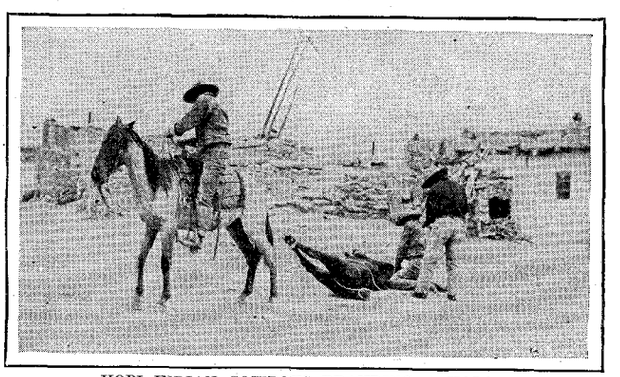


ON THE WAY TO THE RAINBOW BRIDGE

The arid, rocky country, in which the natural bridge shown in the adjoining picture is situated, is well illustrated in this view

BUFFALO BULLS ON A RANCH NEAR MARBLE CANYON

"As there was nothing between my tent and these huge creatures," says the photographer, "I hoped they would not take a dislike to it!"



HOPI INDIAN COWBOYS BRANDING A HORSE

The horse has been thrown and is being held helpless by the Indian on horseback by means of a lariat extending from his saddle

SNAPSHOTS TAKEN ON A TRIP THROUGH THE SOUTHWEST

By Helen W. Sargent, Pasadena, California

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gone through these examinations to gain this princely salary of from forty-one to fifty cents an hour, while right off the street the Post Office Department takes any rookies without previous experience, without physical or mental examination, and places them in the Post Office at a salary of sixty cents an hour, which is three cents more than any other employees get. In other words, this rookie, stepping in off the street, without either physical or mental qualifications, receives more salary as a rookie than the old employees do after twenty years of faithful, honest service.

Why is this done? Simply because the Post Office Department realizes that it is impossible to-day to get a sane man to work for any less than sixty cents an hour. It also realizes that old Post Office employees will stay on the job because they are loyal to the service in which they have put so many years of hard work with the expectation that later —how much later they do not know—they may receive a square deal from Congress and the Postal Department.

That isn't all. This rookie who is placed in the Department is not worth over one-fourth what an experienced workman is worth. In a great many cases he makes a whole lot more work for other clerks than he accomplishes himself. In any case, he is not more than one-fourth or, at the outside, one-half as efficient as the old line workmen, and in the assorting-room he is not in any case one-fourth as efficient as the experienced assorter. In other words, if we come down to figuring the present situation from an actual value basis, the rookie stepping in off the street is actually receiving from ten to twenty dollars a day so far as his efficiency is concerned. To-day a rookie assorter in the assorting-room may be laying down on the job; he has a great deal of mail in front of him; the supervisor can readily see he is not going to get his mail assorted for the next delivery, and he walks up and requests a little more speed. The rookie says, "All right. More speed." And "more speed" it is, with the result that the Washington letter goes into the New York sack, the San Francisco letter goes into the Minneapolis sack, because he knows that there isn't one chance in a hundred of being checked up and found out. This is one of the reasons why we often wonder about the reason for a letter mailed in New York City arriving in New York City seven days late. I have had several of them myself and know this to be an absolute fact.

Second, there are few industries in the United States to-day that equal the Post Office Department for labor turnover. The labor turnover in New York City during the year 1919 and early part of 1920 has been practically 100 per cent. There have been twelve thousand transfers; that is, transfers from the office out into the street, and from the street into the office. The resignations of old line men who have finally given up the ghost is appalling. There have been twenty-three hundred resignations in the New York Postal Service since July 1, 1919, and there have been eight hundred resignations in the past three months, and these twenty-three hundred men have all been trained—have passed both physical and mental examinations and could be considered expert post office employees.

This is the situation in New York City. Other large centers throughout the country are facing exactly the same situation, and, while the postal service in New York has passed through this period of rapid disintegration, it has every likelihood in the world of going through a much greater one in the next six or eight months, to a point where the entire service may he practically paralyzed.

I have personally talked to many mail-carriers who have stayed on the job valiantly through all the years of service, have hocked their property to keep their faces up and their spirits up, who are about ready to give up the ghost.

The other morning, in New York City, one division of mail-carriers wanted to walk out in a body on learning of the increase of salaries that had been recommended by the Joint Congressional Commission in Washington because it practically amounted to nothing when compared with the increased cost of living.

Congress and the Post Office Department do not seem to be able to differentiate between an increase of 150 per cent in the cost of living and a 50 per cent increase in salary. A clerk receiving the maximum wage in the postal service in 1907 received a salary of $1,200 a year. Thirteen years later, in 1920, he receives a salary of $1,650, or an increase of 38 per cent. With the increase recommended by the Joint Congressional Commission the clerks would receive $1,800, or an increase of 50 per cent in wages in thirteen years, while the advance in the cost of living since that time is far over 100 per cent.

Now the Congressional Commission and postal executives may call this good mathematics, but it isn't the kind of mathematics that buys food, shoes, and pays rent.

At the present time a man who has been in the postal service up to twenty years and over receives $137.50 a month, which is a pretty fair salary for a street-sweeper. How is any man in New York City who has brought up a family (and if he has been a steady postal employee for twenty years he, as a rule, has a family, and often a large one) to maintain a proper home anywhere in the city close enough to his work to reach there on time? He certainly will have a difficult task making both ends meet on $137.50 a month.

The munificent increase allowed by the Congressional Commission makes this princely stipend $150; but how about the postal employee who to-day receives, and has been receiving, $100 a month, who also has been in the service, in all probability, from one to four years, or from one to seven years? How is he going to make both ends meet at $100 a month?

The increase recommended by the Joint Commission comes to $2.80 a week. It doesn't take a great deal of imagination to figure out how the postal clerks will spend this extra $2.80, nor will their wives need to lose any nights' sleep figuring where it is going to go.

The Postal Department is, without any doubt, one of the most important branches of Government service. Prompt and accurate delivery of mails is, without any question, one of the great factors in American progress. Surely a Government as democratic as ours can well afford to give adequate compensation to the loyal men who spend their lives in this service. We must get away from the sentimental part of it; it is a matter of cold-blooded business. We are confronted to-day with a strike; not a strike of organized labor, not a concentrated strike of postal employees, but a silent, passive strike wherein twenty-three hundred efficient men out of a total of about twelve thousand employees have left the service in New York City in less than one year. Those twenty-three hundred men have struck—struck because they couldn't buck the game any longer, and silently walked out into fields that were more considerate of men who must at least earn enough to live if they are to give a fair day's work in return.

To-day it isn't the clerks alone who are calling for a square deal; thousands of citizens in all walks of life are vigorously protesting against present conditions, for there are mighty few citizens who have not, in one way or another, been subjected to inconvenience because of the niggardliness of Congress.

A learned Senator in a recent speech complained of the mountainous mass of letters he had received of late urging the cause of the Post Office employees. He also made a very pointed remark regarding the activity of a certain large magazine that had espoused the cause of the Civil Service men. I do not know this learned Senator, but I personally believe that it is men of his type that prevent men of vision and sympathetic understanding from accomplishing good work.

Post Office employees have assured me that ten thousand men, well trained, could adequately handle the mails in New York City with despatch. To-day we have four thousand in excess of that number, but because of the fact that a goodly portion of them are rookies our service is certainly a long way from being up to standard.

Why not give the extra money that is paid to these rookies to the first-line employees, raise the maximum wage to a level with other trades, and get back to normal? Is there any law of common sense, or even expediency, that could justify the postal service in paying a rookie sixty cents an hour without mental or physical examination—which means without physical or mental qualifications—while the old employee of three or four years' to twenty years' service is receiving from forty-one to fifty-seven cents an hour?

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THE SQUARE PEG

THE LAST OF A SERIES OF SIX STORIES

BY DONAL HAMILTON HAINES

VI—THE RAINSFORD CASE

STEPHEN TRENT was playing around the country club course with Hope Merton, or rather he was carrying his clubs and making some pretense of play while he seriously devoted himself to watching his companion. He liked watching her do anything because she did everything well, but her golf was peculiarly attractive because she wasn't at all the athletic type from which long driving and deadly putting was to be expected.

On this particular Saturday they were not enjoying themselves as much as usual, although the reason was not apparent. Stephen was perfectly certain that this was true. There was no difference between this and any other day on which he could put his finger, yet it was there. It manifested itself in a slight lack of spontaneity in their conversation. Never before had he been at all self-conscious when silence fell between them; on this July afternoon he felt driven to search his mind hurriedly for fresh subjects whenever their talk flagged. This was so unusual that it annoyed him.

By the time they had played half-way around he knew that something was definitely wrong. Hope had neither done nor said anything to justify this feeling and her golf had not fallen off by so much as a stroke, yet he was unpleasantly aware of a sense of constraint, and meant to find out what it was all about before they got back to the club-house.

Fortunately, he was spared the necessity of making these efforts, which would very likely, since he was a man, have proved both awkward and unproductive. Hope leaned against the sand-box at the seventh hole while Stephen was modeling a pinch of earth into a tee.

"There's a most unpleasant rumor about you current, Stephen," she said suddenly. "I took it upon myself to deny it."

He looked up, smiling.

"A rumor?" he repeated. "Has my fame won me some enemies?"

"So it appears. People are saying that you're to be Sally Rainsford's counsel in the divorce case."

Stephen stopped smiling, but remained on his knees.

"I am," he said, simply.

"I thought so," she said, quietly. "That's why I took such pains to deny the rumor. I have to like any one pretty well to meddle in his affairs, Stephen."

Trent let his driver drop to the ground and put his ball in his pocket.

"Shall we talk about it?" he asked.

"Must we?"

"I'm afraid we must, Hope. I've committed myself. I'm rather sorry you denied the story, although I'm glad you cared enough about the business to deny it. It didn't occur to me that you wouldn't like my taking Sally's case."

He had never before realized that a very slight frown could so thoroughly alter her face.

"That's hard for me to understand," she said. "I'm afraid it isn't going to be easy for you to explain. In fact, I'm not sure that I want you to try."

Even though her tone was casual Trent knew that his offense was no slight matter, that in her eyes he now stood committed to opinions not lightly to be dismissed, and that he now faced something infinitely larger than combating a woman's prejudices.

In that part of Medford where Trent and Hope Merton moved and had their being people were not divorced or, going through that process, they ceased to occupy the places they had always held. In that staid, venerable quarter of the city known as Elm Hill it was assumed that the sort of people destined to the divorce court did not exist, or, if by some strange mischance they did exist, the prevalent attitude toward the binding and inviolable nature of marriage vows compelled them to hide their unholy tendencies.

Moreover, the lawyer who assisted a man or woman to get a divorce was deemed little better than his client. His act was held as proof that he approved of his own course and that of his principal. The lawyers who lived on Elm Hill or in its environs did not handle such cases.

For Stephen Trent to break this unwritten law was peculiarly unfortunate. Nearly three years had passed since the young man, widely traveled, thoroughly educated, eminently fitted in every way to occupy the traditional position of a Trent in the affairs of his native city, had returned to Medford to practice law. Because of certain peculiar tendencies he had betrayed these three years had been very much like a period of probation. In some of his first cases Trent had showed himself unconventional, to say the least, had avowed peculiar leanings, done unusual things. For some time Medford's best people had eyed him askance. They had recognized his ability, yet raised their aristocratic eyebrows over traits which might prove dangerous if allowed to develop. But in the fullness of time the young lawyer had won their confidence and a position of considerable prominence. He had convinced them that on most points their beliefs were his, that he shared their veneration for traditions, their admiration for everything which had proved its value by enduring for years. And on two or three issues where he had taken the opposite side he had proved them definitely in the wrong.

Yet his position was by no means secure against all dangers. He could ill afford such a risk as appearing in the Rainsford divorce case, and as he faced Hope Merton across the tee Trent knew it. He stood staring at the ground, increasingly uneasy and wretched as he tried to find an adequate beginning for his explanations and realized how likely they were to prove futile.

"I hate arguing this with you!" he exclaimed suddenly.

"I should think you might," she agreed, "or with any of your friends. But it seems to me that the time to have considered that side of it was before you took Sally's fee. I hope you won't pretend that you thought I would approve of your course."

"I am horribly afraid that I didn't stop to consider that," he answered, honestly.

He did not look at her as he spoke, knowing only too well that he would see either a look of real pain or the more unpleasant impassivity which she could summon to conceal such an expression. He went on hurriedly, his eyes still on the ground—

"Perhaps if I had been more the scrupulous lawyer and less the sympathetic friend when she came to my office I should have taken the decision that would have pleased you, and refused to help her. But I simply couldn't refuse. Why, great Scott, Hope, you and I played with Sally before we could talk. I couldn't send her to one of those chaps who make a specialty of divorces. You know what most of them are."

"So you preferred to identify yourself with them."

"But that's hardly reasonable; is it? It seemed the least I could do for Sally. Surely you don't mean that you think she shouldn't have her freedom? You wouldn't have had me urge her to give Fred another trial?"

"No. It seems quite clear that she and Fred can't live together. But that's no justification."

"You simply can't condone divorce on any grounds?"

"No, I can't."

Trent had taken the golf-ball from his pocket and was tossing it from one hand to the other. He did this because a man faces crises of the spirit better if he can occupy his hands. Had he known that the incessant spat-spat of the ball against his palms irritated the girl until she wanted to scream, he would—well, if he had been as discerning as all that he

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would not have taken Sally Rainsford's case.

"It's incomprehensible to me that you and I can differ so completely on this," he said, slowly, "when we think alike in so many ways. I want to argue, because I really feel strongly, and yet it seems to me that I simply can't force myself to argue the subject with you. I can't turn you into an antagonist. I can't take for granted a state of mind on your part so unthinkable to me."

"Perhaps you are right," she decided. "Argument is surely bound to prove useless, and might prove unpleasant."

"But we can't simply ignore this," protested Stephen.

"Since it can neither be argued nor undone, I fail to see that there is anything left but to ignore it."

To Hope's unspeakable relief Stephen dropped the maddening white ball into the pocket of his coat.

"We might ignore it," he said, "but it would always be there; wouldn't it?"

"Of course."

He hesitated an instant, but it was not his way to postpone what must be faced sooner or later. He asked the question, although he dreaded its answer.

"Does that mean," he asked, "that if I go on with Sally's business it is going to make a difference between you and me?"

She was no nearer a moral coward than he was. There was no reason why she should do more than answer what showed on the surface of his question, yet she answered all that lay beneath it, even though no word of it had passed between them.

"We can go on playing golf and that sort of thing," she said, meeting his eyes squarely as he raised his head in quick surprise. "You hardly expected real ostracism for a question of taste, did you? I shouldn't have thought you prepared for that species of heroism."

Trent knew that the latter part of the speech could be ignored, because it was not like Hope at all. It was deliberately irritating, spoken in a close-clipped tone which revealed nothing but an unnatural tightness of nerves. It was her first words which struck him. There was no possibility of misunderstanding them. She meant that if he had not taken Mrs. Rainsford's case, and so showed himself capable of going so completely at variance with what he knew to be her pleasure, there might have been more than a dancing and golf-playing friendship between them.

The confession was characteristic. It was her way always to meet the truth squarely—even go forward when there seemed a shadow of doubt. Only once in her life had she tried to lie. She had done it well, convincingly well, and it had been Trent who had stopped her and spared her the fancied necessity of further lying.

They had been excellent friends all their lives. Since that event—when Hope had hidden the truth because she believed that only by so doing could she save her brother from prison—they had been drawn much closer together. Everywhere on Elm Hill it was taken for granted that if they were not already engaged it was only a question of time, and Elm Hill heartily approved. They had not liked the idea of the Trent family dying out, and an alliance with the Mertons was quite perfect. Besides that they liked both the young people extremely well.

Stephen had never told Hope that he loved her—at least he did not know that he had. He was as far from being headlong as a man could be. Most of the acts of his life were considered almost as carefully as the briefing of his cases. His silence had been due to no uncertainty in regard to the state of his own feelings, but to a deeply ingrained caution which had regard for just such unexpected occurrences as had suddenly come between them.

It seemed to him now that for days and weeks he had been waiting for something like this. That Hope should love him, that she should say yes when he asked her to marry him, had seemed too perfect. He had never loved any one else, but he had been led to understand that the course of love did not run with such unbroken smoothness. At the back of his mind he realized that there had been a lurking fear ever since the day he knew he loved her, an expectation of disaster, formless yet persistent. Nothing in his well-ordered life had ever affected him as deeply as the knowledge he had just gained, yet neither his voice nor manner betrayed his heart.

"If I could with a clear conscience go and tell Sally that I had changed my mind," he said, "I think that you know I would be glad to do it for your sake. You don't want me to do it feeling as I do?"

"No, I don't think I do," she answered, then rose abruptly from her seat on the edge of the sand-box. "Let's go back, please," she said.

They walked back to the club-house without speaking. But Trent had brought her out for golf and dinner. If he took her home in the middle of the afternoon, Mrs. Merton would ask questions which her daughter's scrupulous and inflexible honesty would make it hard to answer.

"I shall play around alone, Hope," he said as they approached the club-house, "and we can dine early and go in as soon as you like afterwards."

She nodded and left him, and it is infinitely to Trent's credit that he made both the dinner and the drive home afterward quite bearable for both of them.

Stephen was badly equipped for the part he had now to play. In spite of the testimony of poets and other romanticists, few men die of broken hearts, yet the degree of suffering depends always upon the number of a man's other interests. If Stephen's business had been of a sort which got him up at dawn, worked him like a truck-horse all day, and sent him to bed at night with no other interest on earth than sleep, he would have had less time to think of Hope. But, although a busy lawyer, he was by no means hard-driven. There were too many chances to pause at his desk and stare at the blank wall. Nor were his diversions of a sort to aid him. He had a few close friends: Eldredge, of the Medford "Telegram," old Pierre Manton, the tobacconist—these and two or three others, none of them them offering any counsel in his present distress. He was astonished to find how really empty his life was with Hope Merton gone out of it, for Trent had no thought of seeing just enough of her to preserve appearances.

On the other hand, no thought of giving in entered his mind. He did not even seek to argue with Mrs. Rainsford the next time she came to his office, but went on with the work of preparing her case for hearing as though there had been no suggestion of anything else.

He played more golf than usual, trying to visit the club at hours when Hope was unlikely to be there, and supposing, fatuously enough, that nobody noticed anything. On this latter point he was soon disillusioned. On the third of his lonely rounds his caddie marked a distant figure which had as yet escaped Trent's notice and said abruptly:

"There's Miss Merton, Mr. Trent. Ain't you playing with her to-day?"

"Where?" demanded Trent involuntarily; then added, hastily: "No; I'm not playing with her to-day. Give me my iron."

But during the rest of the round he had great difficulty in keeping his eye on the ball. He was also troubled by the thought that if his solitary state was patent to the caddie other people must be taking note of it. So he eschewed golf and took to long drives in his car or walks into the country—than which he could hardly have found anything more obvious to the world at large.

There is, according to an ancient saw, no large loss without some small gain. Stephen discovered afresh how fond he was of walking and realized that his roadster had made him soft. He purchased some walking shoes, a pipe which smoked better outdoors, and a Scotch terrier of great solemnity of mien and a deep-seated conviction that he could thrash anything on four legs.

In the next ten days he was very lonely, but not quite as low in spirit as he fancied. He walked fully fifty miles and rescued the belligerent terrier—whose confidence had no basis in fact—from at least twenty losing battles. In the meantime he got Mrs. Rainsford's suit very nearly ready for a hearing. And then he met Jimmy!

Jimmy, according to his own statement, was ten years old, but appeared more a man of the world than is usual at that age. When Stephen found him, he was seated on the bank of a small stream swearing with considerable fluency at his line, which had fouled in the bushes.

"Want some help?" suggested Stephen.

The boy flushed. Evidently his profanity was usually exercised in private.

"Yes, I do," he said.

Stephen helped him untangle the line.

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In doing so he noticed that the rod had probably cost thirty dollars and that the urchin was fishing with flies—an art unknown to most of Medford's youth.

"It's my experience, Jimmy," he observed, "that it doesn't pay to lose your temper trout-fishing. Too many annoying things are likely to happen. If you let go once, you're apt to be wretched the rest of the day. Get a rise just as your line fouled?"

"Rise!" wailed the boy. "I had a beaut clear out of water!"

"Well," suggested Stephen, "you've pretty well kicked things up here. Let's try another hole."

They fished for an hour or so, their speech being exclusively that of fellow-anglers. Trent showed the boy a trick or two with the flies, finding him an apt pupil who had evidently started in the hands of an expert. Then Stephen unexpectedly produced sandwiches and found a grassy bank. Talk did not begin until the man's pipe was lighted.

"Who taught you to cast, Jimmy?"

"Dad."

"Let's you go out alone with his best rod, does he?"

"He ain't here."

"Oh!"

A short silence, then the boy burst out, hotly:

"I wish he was here!"

"He's coming back, isn't he?"

"No."

Stephen was discreetly silent. If anything more was coming, it would surely come best of itself. Covertly he watched his companion. The boy—ragged and dirty, yet showing indubitable traces of good breeding—sat with his hands on his knees, his dark eyes smoldering as they watched the brook. He maintained his silence longer than youth usually finds it possible, then, confession made easier by a comforting element in Stephen's wordless presence by his side, he began to talk.

He had not said a dozen words before Stephen realized that he must be Sally Rainsford's child. He had not spoken a hundred before the man told himself that Jimmy was more Frederick Rainsford's child than he was Sally's. Trent knew that Rainsford had been most things that a man should not be—spendthrift, drunkard, gambler; but it appeared that he had yet managed to be a good father. This hot-headed, passionate boy who stared at the shimmering water with Rainsford's black eyes loved his father with an intensity amounting to idolatry.

"Oh, mother's all right, but she can't *do* things!" he explained in answer to one of Stephen's cautious questions. "Lately she won't lemme do 'em with him either."

The man probed further, putting his questions with a craft and subtlety that he had rarely surpassed in the court-room, sifting his information out of a series of boyish phrases, of childish outbursts that were desperate efforts to cope with Jimmy's inadequate powers of expression. At the end of an hour he found himself more profoundly shocked and troubled than he would have believed possible. As they walked home together Jimmy did not find him as agreeable a companion as he had been while they were fishing.

"I think I'll just walk home with you, Jimmy," Trent said as they reached the outskirts of Medford. "You see, I know your mother pretty well, and I should like to have a talk with her."

Jimmy glanced at him with quick suspicion.

"You can if you like," he said, ungraciously, "but I should think you'd rather talk to me. She's no fun these days. Cries all the time."

"I know," Trent said. "Perhaps between us we can get her to stop crying, Jimmy."

The boy would have given much to linger outside the closed door behind which his mother and this new friend were closeted for more than two hours, but he was incontinently banished to his own room.

It was not a pleasant interview for either Trent or Mrs. Rainsford. A less tactful man than Stephen would have cut it short by blundering within the first five minutes; a less persistent one would certainly have abandoned his efforts at the end of half an hour. But Stephen would not give up.

"I know I must seem a brute, Sally," he confessed, "and I don't wonder that you think me a poor lawyer and a worse friend. But if I go on with the divorce, between us we shall have sent Fred straight to the devil and the boy after him. I don't pretend to understand these relationships. I don't know that I've ever encountered one before. But Jimmy is veritably a part of his father. There's a bond between them which can't be broken, and I should think that it must pull as hard one way as it does the other—doesn't it?"

Sally Rainsford nodded.

"Fred worships him," she said.

"You love both of them," Trent went remorselessly on, "and I'm wondering if you're strong enough to lose them both. Because that's what will happen, you know, Sally. Not all the courts in Christendom will hold those two apart. Do you know where Fred is?"

She started, half rose from her chair.

"I can't!" she cried.

"I'm very much afraid you've got to," Stephen told her.

That night's mail carried to Frederick Rainsford the longest letter he had ever received or that Trent had ever written. The next day Stephen invaded the private offices of at least twenty of Medford's most prominent citizens. In every case he was received with frowns when he opened by saying, "I want to talk to you about this Rainsford business;" but he hung on in the face of evident lack of sympathy, and in every case he got his way. He went home very tired that night, but with the assurance that he had succeeded in forming a sort of informal League for the Preservation of Fred Rainsford's Soul.

The next afternoon he played golf for the first time in two weeks. He assured himself that he did so purely because he wanted to play and not from any sneaking hope that he might see a certain white-clad figure. And yet all the time he was thinking about her. This process, however, led to no improvement in his mental state. He had done what she had wanted him to do, but he did not expect to win forgiveness. He was too honest to pretend to her that he had done it because of her displeasure. He would tell her the truth.

And then he climbed the slope of a bunker and almost collided with her.

"I telephoned your office," she said, when their somewhat embarrassed greetings were finished. "I wanted to see you."

"You did?"

"Yes. Stephen, I was wrong."

"About Sally?"

"Yes. It seems to me I have thought of nothing else since the other day. I have been over it backward and forward until I thought I should go mad. And you can't guess how I hated to give in to you. We don't realize how precious our prejudices are until we have to try to let go of them."

Stephen was staring at her, his face betraying a mixture of emotions.

"Then you haven't heard what has happened between Sally and Fred?" he demanded.

"No. What is it?"

Stephen told her very briefly.

"And of course you did nothing to stop it?" she asked.

"I am afraid," he answered, "that I did everything to have it happen. But I talked with Jimmy. He convinced me."

"Stuff and nonsense!" exclaimed Hope, her face unaccountably radiant; "he no more convinced you than I really beat my horrible Puritan scruples!"

For a moment these two very unreasonable young people merely stared at each other, then Stephen said:

"If not seeing you for nearly two weeks is going to make me the ruin I've been, Hope, I can see nothing for it but to take measures to prevent such an occurrence in the future; can you?"

Her silence appeared to be a confession that she couldn't, and when Stephen held out his hand she took it and allowed him to draw her down behind the bunker, whose green bulk shielded them completely from the porches and windows of the club-house. Unhappily it did not hide them from the eye of a caddie—the same who had put such uncomfortable questions to Stephen. This discerning youth looked once, then thrust his hands in his pockets and turned discreetly away.

"Thank the Lord *that's* settled!" he muttered, seeing a prospect of fattened revenues.

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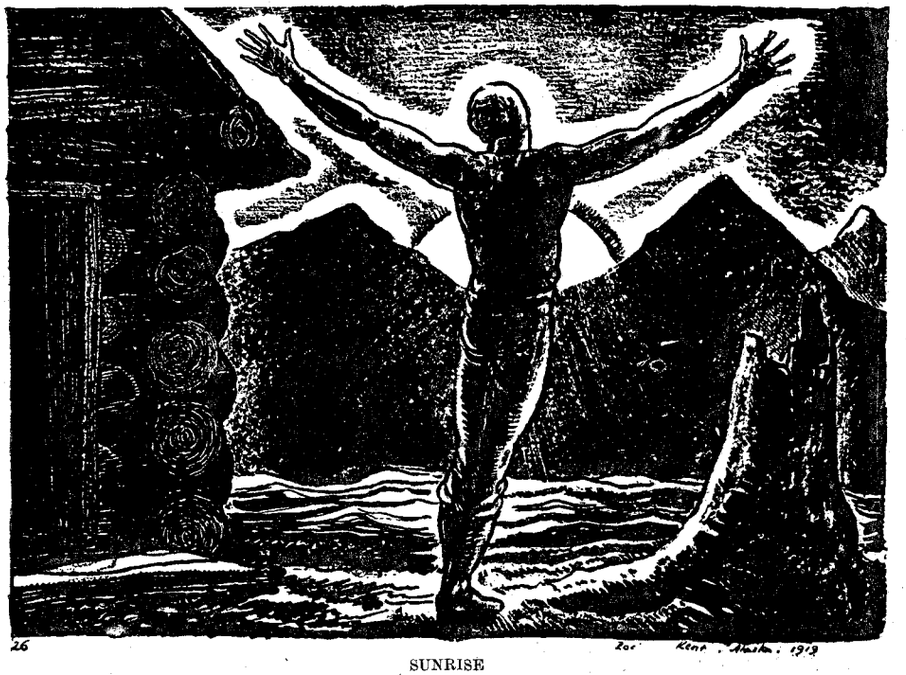
THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

A PUZZLING BOOK[1]



SUNRISE

THE cautious and conventional reviewer finds it very difficult to form a definite private opinion, to say nothing of a public one, about this unusual, perhaps it may be said remarkable, book. At one moment it seems like the product of erraticism, at another of genius. That is what makes it puzzling.

Rockwell Kent is an American artist of originality. How original he is may be inferred from the fact that, as we understand it, he has incorporated himself. That is to say, some of his friends and backers have formed a corporation called "Rockwell Kent, Incorporated." Capital stock has been issued, for which the friends have contributed money and the artist himself contributes his services and creations, following the analogy of the inventor who receives stock in a company for the ideas which he has patented. Mr. Kent's expenses are paid out of the treasury of the corporation, and his products, both literary and artistic, are sold by the company for the benefit of the stockholders. Thus he is not only relieved of the necessity of financing such trips as form the basis of the book under review, but shares in whatever profits his work may gain.

This is a new kind of relationship between commerce and art. It seems sensible, but it is nevertheless a little startling to the conventional mind, and most of us have conventional minds. Thus the reviewer starts out with the preconceived notion that the author of "Wilderness" is an original, a notion which is somewhat confirmed by the book itself.

"Wilderness" is the story of the six months' stay of the author and his nine-year-old son on Fox Island, Resurrection Bay, Alaska, and it is profusely illustrated with the drawings of the artist and of his son.

Both the chronicle of the primitive life led on the island by this man and boy and the drawings depicting it are fascinating, but fascinating in the sense in which an awesome natural phenomenon produces a mixture of fear and skepticism with respect and admiration.

The drawings form the more important part of this double-barreled creation. They fall naturally into two classes. First are those which are essentially symbolic, which show us a race of a sort of supermen and northern gods against the sharp, gleaming background of Alaska. They suggest the influence of Michael Angelo and William Blake.

In the other class are the drawings which are mainly concerned with portraying the life of the artist, his son, and their companion, "old man Olson," on their island, surrounded by the animals of the Arctic regions and the wild glories of the aurora borealis. It is difficult to express any preference between the shining symbolism of the one class and the human beauty of the other.

The word pictures of this man and this boy making their crude home and successfully defending it against the titanic forces of an Alaskan winter excite the interest of that boy who is in every man. The struggle of the two Kents to keep filled the chinks in their leaky log cabin and the belly of their voracious air-tight stove is as absorbing in a way as the struggle of Robinson Crusoe to raise his grapes and his goats.

This always unconventional and often

THE NORTH WIND

[1] Wilderness: A Journal of Quiet Adventure. By Rockwell Kent. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

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startling book, as Dorothy Canfield points out in her preface to it, shows "the artist at work creating, as Henry James said he could not be shown; the artist, that is, a man violently alive, full-blooded and fine, fierce and pure, arrogant and tender, with an elate, boastful, well-founded certainty of his strength, rejoicing in his work, in his son, in his friend, in the whole visible world, and most of all in himself and his own vigorous possibilities for good, evil, and creative work." We might add that between the pages decorated with his drawings of Alaska Rockwell Kent gives us glimpses of his own soul—sometimes a little too naked to be pleasant.

The present reviewer has no intention of suggesting that "Wilderness" is preeminently a book for boys, but that it may be popular with boys is not a mere surmise. The average boy has a directness in dealing with emotion and a freedom from convention in facing life which the average man does not usually possess. In the company of his own son, in the primitive solitude of Fox Island, Rockwell Kent sometimes gives expression to a boy's frank but irrational outlook on life.

Editors and critics of current literature are fond of the expression "a human document." Certainly Rockwell Kent's "Wilderness" is such a document. It is not only a narrative of a simple and natural life in these days of a complex civilization, but it is a frank revelation of the ideas, thoughts, aspirations, and conceptions of an unusually artistic temperament.

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

Fur Bringers (The). By Hulbert Footner. The James A. McCann Company, New York.

A tale of the Canadian Northwest with a fur-trader, a factor, and his daughter as the leading characters, and mounted police and Indians in the action.

Growing Up. By Mary Heaton Vorse. Boni & Liveright, New York.

Every one who enjoyed "The Prestons" will be glad to read "Growing Up." It is a story of child life and family life, decidedly amusing, and also with curiously interesting sidelights on child-training and child nature.

Helping Hersey. By Baroness von Hutten. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

One long story and several short tales. "Helping Hersey" is a clever study of a vain, selfish, and unprincipled girl, a colossal liar, and of the totally vain efforts of her mother, her elderly fiancé, and others to make her fair and honorable.

Mrs. Craddock. By W. Somerset Maugham. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

An earlier tale by the author of "The Moon and Sixpence." It has some subtlety, but moves rather heavily and joylessly.

Light Heart (The). By Maurice Hewlett. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

Another tale of the Northland in ancient days. Like Mr. Hewlett's "The Outlaw," it derives its romantic legend from the endless resources of the Norse sagas.

Light Out of the East (The). By S. R. Crockett. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

A posthumous romance. It is a message of idealism beautifully conceived and filled with optimism for the world's future.

Pink Gods and Blue Denims. By Cynthia Stockley. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Kimberley and its diamond mines form the background of a somewhat fantastic but vividly written story of a woman brought into danger by her passionate worship of beautiful gems, placed strangely in her hands. The story holds one's attention closely.

Quirt (The). By B. M. Bower. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

A moving-picture girl expects to find on her father's ranch the romance and adventures of the film. Instead she finds sordid poverty, oppression, plotting by the rich rancher against the poor, and ugly, brutal crime.

Storms of Youth. By Viola Roseboro. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This is "a story of love and politics, the scene laid in a small town in the border country betwixt North and South where the local color mixes varied American shades of character and manners."

Story of a New Zealand River (The). By Jane Mander. The John Lane Company, New York.

A realistic tale of life at an isolated lumber camp in New Zealand.

Stranger (The). By Arthur Bullard. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Mr. Bullard here employs his thorough knowledge of the East in the character of the "stranger," son of an American missionary, yet a Moslem, who forms a sharp contrast to the little group of New York men and women interested in art and sociology with whom he becomes intimate. Both in its originality as to treatment and balance between character interest and suggestion of thought the novel is of substantial value.

Tour (The). By Louis Couperus. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

Couperus is an outstanding figure in modern Dutch fiction writing. Here he tells with subtle humor and keen irony the story of a party of ancient Romans touring through Egypt in the reign of Tiberius, personally conducted by a sort of Theban "Thomas Cook & Sons."

BIOGRAPHY

Arthur Hugh Clough. By James Linsley Osborne. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Clough's life was uneventful but typical. Reacting against the religious teaching of Rugby, which gave him an assurance based on authority, he substituted quest for discovery. His faith after entering Oxford is always a pursuing faith; he is always seeking God and every new experience impels him to new discovery. Mr. Osborne's book is a critique rather than a biography; suggestive, but not satisfying. He would have done better had he given us less of his own interpretations and more of Clough's letters, leaving the reader to interpret their significance for himself.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

Argonauts of Faith (The). By Basil Mathews. Foreword by Viscount Bryce. Illustrated. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

A circumstantial account of the Pilgrims' voyage to and experiences in America, by an English writer who endeavors to make the story attractive and inspiring to young people. Viscount Bryce supplies an appreciative Introduction.

Eastern Question and Its Solution (The). By Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D., LL.D. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

Professor Jastrow believes that the United States should encumber itself with no Eastern mandates. He would deal with Near-Eastern problems through international commissions on which there would be native representation. Thus, he believes, self-government might eventually be reached.

In the Days of the Pilgrim Fathers. By Mary Caroline Crawford. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

The tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth furnishes the appropriate occasion for the publication of this book, but it will have a lasting value as an admirable account of the personalities and the times that were pregnant with the New England of to-day.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Practical Views on Psychic Phenomena. By George E. Wright. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York.

An open-minded presentation of some of the evidence for telepathy, spirit communication, etc. Persons who are unfamiliar with more elaborate works on the subject will find in this book much to awaken thought and stimulate investigation.

Psychology of Dreams (The). By William S. Walsh, M.D. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

Not intended for professional reading, but distinctly popular in its appeal, this book will have lively interest for the general reader who likes to be entertained while he is being instructed. There are many sensible hygenic suggestions.

WAR BOOKS

Heroes All! Edited by Harry R. Stringer. Fassett Publishing Company, Washington.

"Heroes All!" is a compendium of the names and official citations of the soldiers and citizens of the United States and of her allies who were decorated by the American Government for exceptional heroism and conspicuous service above and beyond the call of duty in the war with Germany, 1917–19.

SCIENCE

Artificial Light. By M. Luckiesh. (The Century Books of Useful Science.) Illustrated. The Century Company, New York.

One who opens this book with the thought, "Here is another of those dry scientific treatises," has another guess coming, to use the vernacular. The story of the growth and use of artificial light in the home, in industry, in warfare, in navigation, in the theater, is told in a surprisingly interesting way. The theme is illustrated with many pictures, and altogether the book may be regarded as a model for such monographs.

MISCELLANEOUS

History of Journalism in the United States. By George Henry Payne. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

The work of a trained journalist, this book tells in terse and vigorous style the romantic story of the famous newspapers and editors of the country. The attempt to characterize present-day journalism will seem to some less successful than the account of past personalities and achievements, but this is a defect that is perhaps inevitable. Perspective cannot be obtained for the writing of weighty historical judgments except with the lapse of time. Meanwhile popular résumés are needed, and this book well fills such a need.

Negro Faces America (The). By Herbert J. Seligmann. Harper & Brothers, New York.

It would be foolish to suppose that this book offers any complete solution of the race problem in America. No one has ever yet discovered that solution. The question is, however, here discussed in an intelligent, fair-minded manner, with that sympathy for the less fortunate race which will not be denied to it by any one who really desires to find a solution of the great problem.

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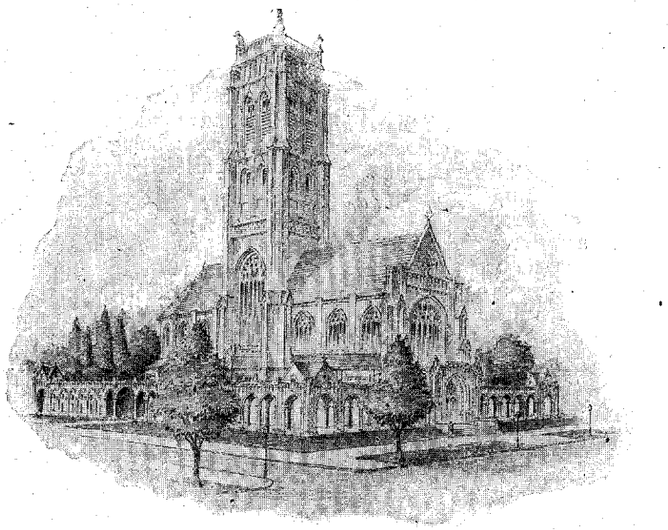
THE ENLARGED PROGRAMME OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN PARIS

The Rev. Stanley Ross Fisher, one of the pastors of the American Church in Paris, has been in this country on a mission which ought to interest every Protestant in America. He came to raise two million dollars in order that the American Church may be moved from its present limited quarters in the Rue de Berri and housed in a beautiful structure, worthy of the Nation it represents, in one of the most central spots in Paris. It is planned to spend one million dollars on this new site and new edifice, which will stand near the Champs Elysées on the right bank of the Seine. Every American visiting Paris will thus see it, and every American will be asked to consider it as his church home while in Paris.

It is planned to spend half a million for an American student center in the Latin Quarter on the left bank of the Seine. The other half million dollars will be set aside as an endowment fund for the administration of this work. The various denominational boards and individual churches will be asked to subscribe to this endowment fund, and the response has already been most gratifying. At this writing, for instance, some denominations have promised large gifts, and over one hundred churches have pledged one thousand dollars or more each. The sum for the two buildings will have to come from individuals.



PROPOSED NEW MEMORIAL EDIFICE OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN PARIS

I would like to say just a word about the wonderful opportunities this church has to serve both America and France. Thousands of Americans will visit France during the coming years. They will find not only a place wherein to worship, but a building which will be the center of American interests and furnish a common meeting ground for Americans. Many American families are going to find permanent residence in Paris as business relations between the two countries develop, and this will be their church home. Here, too, the American children in Paris will find a Sunday school that will have the equipment of the best Sunday schools in America.

It is also planned to make this new church a point of contact between the Protestants of France and the Protestants of America. The war has revealed French Protestantism to itself and to the world. It has come out of the war a real force in France, recognized as never before by the Government and the various groups united as never before. (A new federation of all branches has just been formed.) During the war the American Protestant churches discovered their sister churches in France, and have since come into close contact with them. Our churches have sent many thousands of dollars to the French churches. Delegates from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and from various communions have visited them and been cordially received. In the period of reconstruction since the war the pastors of the American Church in Paris have been constantly in the councils of our French brethren.

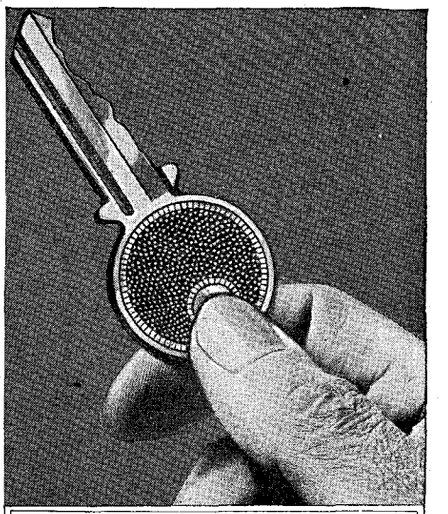
The American Church in Paris is more and more going to be a point of contact between the French and American churches.

I cannot emphasize too much the necessity of making the new church building a noble and adequate expression of the united Protestantism of America. France has come to look upon America as doing on a commanding scale whatever she undertakes. Her admiration for American Protestantism as well as her gratitude is boundless. We did great things for her churches in a great way. We must continue on this big scale. Furthermore, we owe it to France, if in the name of American Protestantism we are going to erect a temple right in the heart of the city, to make it a structure that France will be proud of.

Paris will be flooded with American students during the next twenty-five years. Before the war we were sending eighteen thousand a year to Germany to study music, art, and other subjects in the German universities. American students will not go to Germany for a good many years. They are going to France. There are already indications that within a year or two there will be as many as ten thousand American students in Paris. The American Church has addressed itself to the task of meeting this need. Not only on Sundays, but every other day and night of the week, a staff of trained workers with this social service building as a center will minister to the thousands of young Americans away from home. It is proposed that workers shall be engaged who can actually mold and direct both the life and the studies of these students, giving them not only moral purpose and high ideals but actual guidance in all their work.

(Rev.) FREDERICK LYNCH.

New York City.



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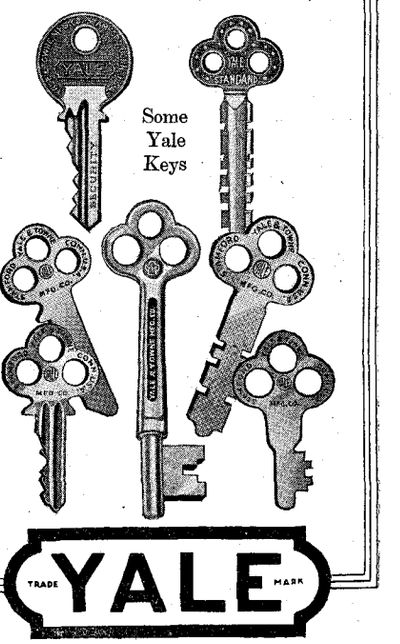

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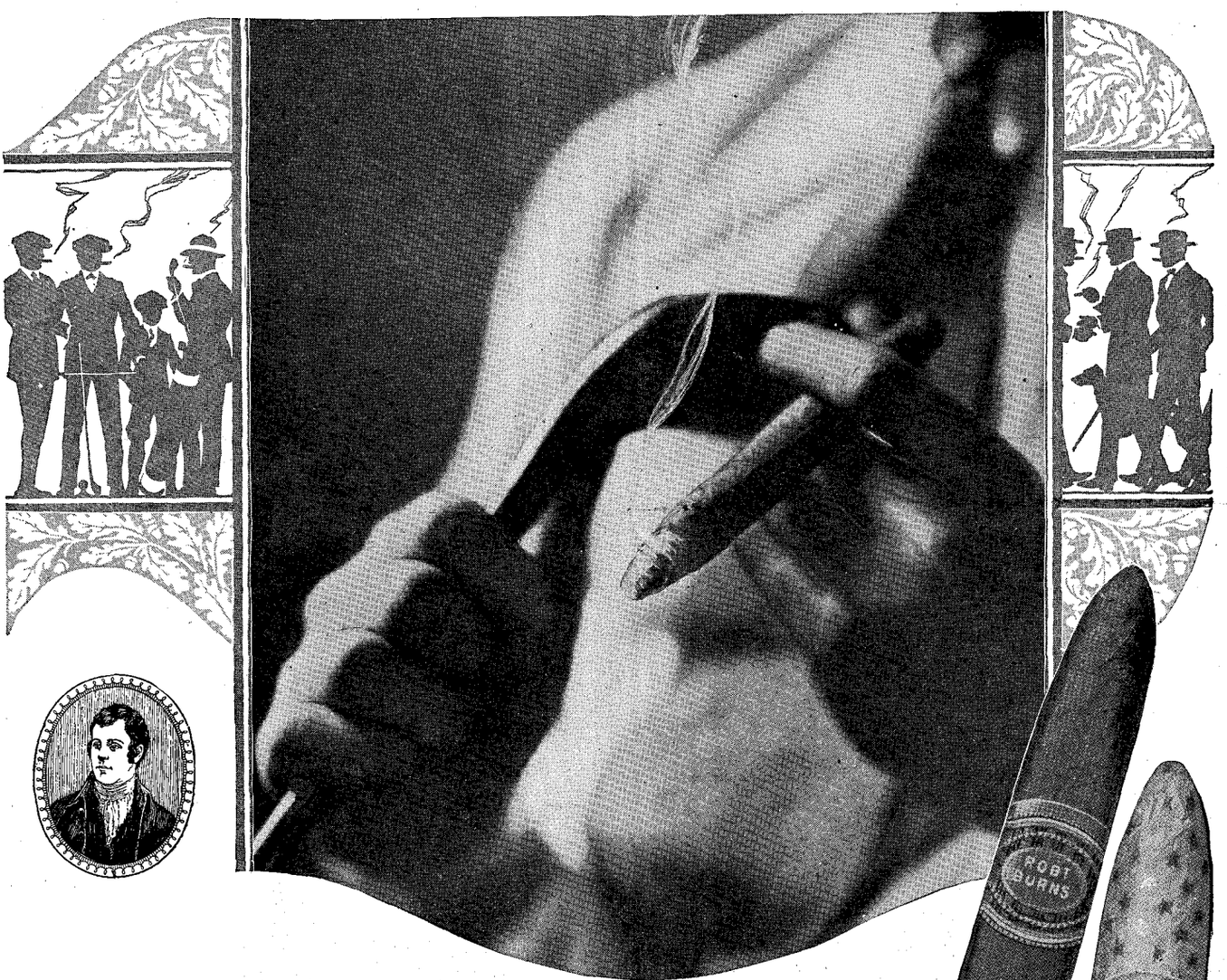

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The Financial Department is prepared to furnish information regarding standard investment securities, but cannot undertake to *advise* the purchase of any specific security. It will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, and a nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service. All letters of inquiry should be addressed to THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York.

THE INVESTMENT FOR YOU

WHEN applied to the purchase of securities, the word investment means the laying out of money for the purpose of income or profit. When a man invests for income purposes only, he is apt to buy a security of a kind different from the one purchased by a man whose main idea is profit. If income is the only consideration, a savings bank account may prove entirely satisfactory; if the interest on a savings bank account does not seem sufficient, bonds will be considered—bonds of the highest grade, such as Liberty Bonds or the first-mortgage liens of railway, industrial, or public utility companies. Bonds of these kinds are bought because safety of principal and assured income are the qualities desired; the thought of profit is secondary, if indeed this thought is entertained at all. On the other hand, it is the possibility of profit that usually enters very largely into the calculations of the man who purchases stocks.

Bonds, as most people know, are a definite obligation of the issuing company. Stocks entitle you to an interest in the business, a proportionate share in the profits—or losses. Bonds, naturally, are much safer investments. The investor, therefore, must decide whether he can afford to risk his capital for the sake of the possible profits offered by stock purchases or whether he must buy bonds because he is forced to consider only safety of

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FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

(*Continued*)

principal and assured income. The answer to these questions depends upon the investor's financial circumstances and situation in life.

In between the highest-grade bonds bought for income only and stocks whose main attraction is possible profits are of course all kinds of investments, bonds and stocks ranging from the most conservative to the extremely speculative. It is the investor who must decide which ones are suited to him. A widow, for instance, with small capital and entirely dependent upon her income for support cannot afford to take chances. Her income may be so small that with the increase in the cost of living she is hard put to it to make ends meet. She naturally would like more money. Because she has little, however, is exactly the reason why she should take no chances with it. And what applies to a widow applies in perhaps lesser degree to all women. Few women are in a position to go out and earn much money, and so cannot recoup losses they may incur. It is very dangerous business for a woman to risk her principal or income for the chance of profit or greater return. In fact, many bankers assert positively that the only suitable investments for women are the highest-grade bonds.

A man, on the other hand, may be justified in paying more attention to high yield and possible profit. This would mean that his principal would not be as safe as the woman's should be, because it is almost a positive rule that the higher the yield the less safe is the principal If you want safety, you must accept a smaller return. In other words, if you want safety you must pay for it, for the yield of an investment is determined by its price. If a man can take certain chances with his money, however, this does not mean that all men can take the same chances. Suppose a man is old, has retired from business, and his earning period has passed; he is in more or less the same position as a woman dependent entirely upon what she has with no prospect of getting more. Suppose a man is married and has a family dependent upon him for support; if his livelihood is derived from a salary which is scarcely more than adequate for their needs, certainly he has no right to jeopardize his family's future through speculation. Such a man must consider others besides himself. And because he is anxious for his family to have more he sometimes is led to make investments which he knows are not altogether sound, but which tempt him with the chance of gain. Oftentimes the results are disastrous.

A man who does not require all he earns for himself and his family can take chances perhaps—mild chances, anyway. So can a bachelor. That is to say, they can consider high yield as well as safety of principal. They may lose, but are in a better position to stand it. Just as it is said that only the rich can be truly economical, so it is that the rich are the only ones who can afford to lose money. But it is unfair, you may say, that those who need it least can get the largest income. Perhaps so, but no one is going to become rich if he risks his capital and loses it. Isn't a steady, sure accumulation better than high yield and profit for a while and then nothing?

Some time ago a woman wrote to the Financial Department inquiring the name of a stock which would double her income in a year. If the Financial Department only knew of such a stock, the whole staff would soon retire. To double one's money in a year is ambitious, to say the least. But how silly it is to try! The gambling instinct is strong in human beings, and because of it the crooked promoters of fake securities make their living. And the strange part of it is that many people who would hold up their hands in horror at the idea of betting on cards or horse-races are only too anxious to gamble in stocks. The woman who wrote the letter just mentioned wanted to gamble, whether she called it that or not. Nothing in her letter indicated that she was in a position to do so, however. A fair return is all that one can reasonably expect, and to get as high a one as possible is entirely legitimate. Moreover, at the present time a fair return is considerably more than it was a while ago, and perhaps greater than can be had later on.

The thing to bear in mind, however, is what kind of an investment is suitable for *you*. And if people would give as much thought to the possibility of loss as they do of gain there would be far fewer financial misfortunes.

ARE YOU AN INVESTOR?

During the past year the Financial Editor of The Outlook has helped hundreds of Outlook readers to solve intelligently their particular investment problems. Perhaps you are contemplating a shifting of your present holdings or have fresh funds to invest. In either case we shall be glad to give you specific information on any securities in which you may be interested. A nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service.

The Outlook Financial Department

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

381 Fourth Ave., N. Y.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. Please tell me if the Great Northern Iron Ore is an operating company or not. What is the present rate of dividends?

A. Great Northern Iron Ore does not operate any mines; it is a leasing company only, and its income is derived from this source. It leases its ore-bearing land to mining companies. Dividends are being paid at the rate of $4 a year.

Q. Please give me the par value of Texas Company stock, the capitalization of this company, and its dividend rate.

A. The shareholders of this company on November 18, 1919, approved a reduction of the par value of the stock from $100 to $25 a share. What this really meant was a division of each share into four new shares, and it was at this rate that the old stock was exchanged for the new. Capitalization consists of $130,000 stock ($25 par value) all of which is outstanding, and $35,000,000 three-year 7 per cent notes; $14,708,000 6 per cent debenture bonds were called for payment on July 1. Dividends of 10 per cent a year are paid.

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Advertising Rates: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, etc., sixty cents per agate line, four columns to the page. Not less than four lines accepted. In calculating space required for an advertisement, count an average of six words to the line unless display type is desired.

"Want" advertisements, under the various headings, "Board and Rooms," "Help Wanted," etc., ten cents for each word or initial, **including the address, for each insertion.** The first word of each "Want" advertisement is set in capital letters without additional charge. Other words may be set in capitals, if desired, at double rates. If answers are to be addressed in care of The Outlook, **twenty-five cents** is charged for the box number named in the advertisement. Replies will be forwarded by us to the advertiser and bill for postage rendered. Special headings appropriate to the department may be arranged for on application.

Orders and copy for Classified Advertisements must be received with remittance ten days before the date of issue when it is intended the advertisement shall first appear.

Address: ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT, THE OUTLOOK, 381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Tours and Travel

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Are you interested in it?

If so, write to Secretary

JAPAN HOTEL ASSOCIATION

Care Traffic Dept.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

TOKYO

for 120-page Guide Book Free

When writing please mention "Outlook."

BENNETT'S TRAVEL BUREAU

The Great West—Canadian Rockies—Alaska—Japan—China

AROUND THE WORLD

506 Fifth Ave., New York. Vanderbilt 5348

INTERCOLLEGIATE TOURS

EUROPE

EDUCATION-TRAVEL-RECREATION

PRICES MODERATE

1021 LITTLE BUILDING-BOSTON

Europe and the Battlefields

38 Tours—Exceptional Variety in Routes and Prices

American Travel Club, Box O, Wilmington, Del.

Hotels and Resorts

CONNECTICUT

The Wayside Inn

New Milford, Litchfield Co., Conn. In the foothills of the Berkshires. Open all the year. An ideal place for your summer's rest. 2 hours from New York. Write for booklet. Mrs. J. E. CASTLE, Proprietor.

ENGLAND

GREENE'S HOTEL

24 Gordon Street, Bloomsbury, London W. C. Bed and breakfast 6/6, dinner 3/-.

MAINE

THE HOMESTEAD

BAILEY ISLAND, ME. Open June 15 to Sept. 15. Air, scenes and table all of the best. Booklet on application. M. J. DURIE.

"The Firs" and "Camp Penobscot"

DEER ISLE, MAINE

Hotel, Tents, Cottages, Cabins—Woods and Shore. "Keep the family together." Camp privileges, supervised sports, and expert tutoring (if desired) for the boys. Rates moderate. S. B. KNOWLTON, Haverford, Pa.

MASSACHUSETTS

If You Are Tired or Need a Change

you cannot find a more comfortable place in New England than

THE WELDON HOTEL

GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

It affords all the comforts of home without extravagance.

MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

THE LESLIE

A quiet, cosy little house by the sea. Private baths. Descriptive booklet.

Hotels and Resorts

MASSACHUSETTS

WHITE HOUSE INN

91 Elm Street, Northampton, Mass.

Season July 1 to Sept. 8. Reservations may be made now. Detailed information upon application to Mrs. M. V. BURGESS.

WILLIAMSTOWN

BERKSHIRE HILLS, MASSACHUSETTS

THE GREYLOCK

At the Western End of the Mohawk Trail

NOW OPEN

SEND FOR COPY OF

"Williamstown the Village Beautiful"

NEW HAMPSHIRE

SWIFT RIVER INN

Passaconaway, N. H. Opens June 21

1,400 feet elevation. Trout fishing, bathing, and mountain climbing. 2 cottages to rent. Address LOUISE B. CRAIG, Conway, N. H.

CLIMB MT. WASHINGTON BY MOTOR

The automobile road up Mt. Washington is now open; 8 miles long; maximum grade 16%. Unrivaled scenery. Comfortable hotel at foot of mountain. *Write for booklet to*

GLEN HOUSE, GORHAM, N. H.

NEW YORK

All the Advantages of an Adirondacks Club

Only Forty-five Miles from New York City

GREENWOOD LAKE, ORANGE CO., N.Y.

A nine-mile lake in the heart of the Ramapo Hills.

Canoeing
Fishing
Swimming
Horse-Back Riding
Long and Short Walking Trips
Over-Night Camping Trips
Picturesque Drives

EXPERIENCED GUIDES

The Club House is equipped with all the conveniences of a high class city hotel.

References required. Men and women guests. Write for particulars.

INKOWA HOUSE, GREENWOOD LAKE, N. Y.

FENTON HOUSE Adirondacks 18 Cottages

Altitude 1,571 ft. A noted place for health and rest. Write for folder and particulars. C. FENTON PARKER, Number Four, N. Y.

NEW YORK CITY

HOTEL JUDSON 53 Washington Square

adjoining Judson Memorial Church. Rooms with and without bath. Rates $3.50 per day, including meals. Special rates for two weeks or more. Location very central. Convenient to all elevated and street car lines.

Hotel Le Marquis

12 East 31st Street

New York

Combines every convenience and home comfort, and commends itself to people of refinement wishing to live on American Plan and be within easy reach of social and dramatic centers.

Rates with Illustrated Booklet gladly sent upon request. JOHN P. TOLSON.

Hotels and Resorts

VERMONT

THE TAVERN

GRAFTON, VT. Ideal Location, bracing air, home cooking. Write for booklet.

Health Resorts

BYRAM LAKE HEALTH FARM

MT. KISCO, N. Y.

When ill or convalescent or in need of rest or recuperation

Ideal location. Table supplied exclusively by farm produce. Outdoor gymnasium, tennis, boating, fishing, dancing, etc. Resident physician. Prospectus mailed upon request.

LINDEN Doylestown, Pa. The Ideal Place for Sick People to Get Well

An institution devoted to the personal study and specialized treatment of the invalid. Massage, Electricity, Hydrotherapy. Apply for circular to ROBERT LIPPINCOTT WALTER, M.D. (late of The Walter Sanitarium)

The Bethesda White Plains, N. Y.

A private sanitarium for invalids and aged who need care. Ideal surroundings. Address for terms Alice Gates Bugbee, M.D. Tel. 241.

Dr. Vail's Sanatorium An exclusive resort in the beautiful Connecticut Valley. Massage, electricity, and baths. Golf and tennis. 3 resident physicians. Under successful management for 30 years. E. S. VAIL, M.D., Thompsonville, Ct.

Dr. Reeves' Sanitarium

A Private Home for chronic, nervous, and mental patients. Also elderly people requiring care. Harriet E. Reeves, M.D., Melrose, Mass.

Real Estate

Old Fashioned Home Beautiful trees. Nine rooms and bath. Gas range, electricity. Garden flowers, corner lot. Near village. Meals at Inn if desired. Rent $600, three months. 2,893, Outlook.

MAINE

FOR SALE

A BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY HOME

On Lake Sebago, Maine

Fine view of lake and mountains. House has bathrooms, fireplaces, porches, garage, barn, orchards, woods and sup't's house. Inquire Dr. Owen Smith, 690 Congress St., Portland, Me.

NEW YORK

ADIRONDACKS FOR RENT Overbrook Cottage KEENE VALLEY, N. Y.

Living-room, kitchen, four bedrooms. $250 for season from July 25. Ice included. Apply to Miss KIRKBRIDE, 7 Wall St., New York.

BOARD AND ROOMS

THREE sisters would like single rooms and board, if possible, in Protestant private family on upper West Side below Columbia for the winter. Excellent references given and required. 8,607, Outlook.

MANUSCRIPTS

STORIES, poems, plays, etc., are wanted for publication. Submit MSS. or write Literary Bureau, 325, Hannibal, Mo.

HELP WANTED

Business Situations

WRITE photoplays: $25–$300 paid anyone for suitable ideas. Experience unnecessary; complete outline free. Producers League, 438, St. Louis.

RAILWAY traffic inspectors earn from $110 to $200 per month and expenses. Travel if desired. Unlimited advancement. No age limit. We train you. Positions furnished under guarantee. Write for booklet CM27. Standard Business Training Institute, Buffalo, N. Y.

HELP WANTED

Companions and Domestic Helpers

WANTED — Competent housekeeper and housemother for church school in Middle West. Address the Principal, Brownell Hall, Omaha, Neb.

DIETITIANS, superintendents, cafeteria managers, governesses, matrons, housekeepers. Miss Richards, Providence, East Side Box 5. Boston, Fridays, 11 to 1, 16 Jackson Hall, Trinity Court. Address Providence.

WANTED—Supervisor for boys ages five to nine. Must take a mother's interest in the boys and be neat and orderly. Also supervisor for twenty boys ages nine to fifteen. Must be good disciplinarian. Protestant Home, 605 Niagara St., Buffalo, N. Y.

PLACEMENT BUREAU for employer and employee: housekeepers, matrons, mother's helpers, governesses, attendants, secretaries, dietitians. 51 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass.

Teachers and Governesses

WANTED—Competent teachers for public and private schools. Calls coming every day. Send for circulars. Albany Teachers' Agency. Albany, N. Y.

GOVERNESS — Want refined, educated young woman as governess for boy eight years old. Must teach him French and school lessons. State age, references, religion, and salary expected. Meryon, Box 34, Station O, New York.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Professional Situations

POSITION wanted as superintendent of nurses in private hospital for mental diseases. Mental and general training and experience. Registered in Pennsylvania. 8,625, Outlook.

GRADUATE occupational therapist wishes position in private hospital or sanitarium. Experienced with mental and nervous patients. 8,626, Outlook.

Business Situations

PLAYWRIGHT'S and author's assistant. Some years' experience with literary and dramatic writers. Stenographer and touch typist. $30 per week. 8,630, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

COLLEGE student desires position as companion or tutor to boy or girl. Experienced, sports, college entrance subjects. Write "R," 104 Warwick St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

GENTLEWOMAN of education and refinement wishes position as social secretary or chaperon to young girls. Interviews in New York or Philadelphia. 8,571, Outlook.

TRAINED nurse will care for aged person or children during August. Preferably New England States. Excellent references. (Miss) Hanna E. Hartley, Federalsburg, Md.

YOUNG teacher, refined, willing, healthy, desires accommodations on private ranch or modern farm. Or would devote summer to child or lady. 8,633, Outlook.

YOUNG man, college graduate, medical training, experienced nurse, as tutor, companion, nurse. 8,636, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

PRIVATE pupils for August and September in New York or environs wanted by young clergyman (to fill time between pastorates, resigned and accepted). Well known and capable, college honor graduate, European traveler, talented as tutor and companion. Will also accept work entertaining invalid. 8,627, Outlook.

DEAN of women desires change. Nine (9) years' college experience. Advanced degree. English, Latin, education. 8,618, Outlook.

EXCEPTIONAL children's teacher, trained in public health work—psychological and anthropmetric tests and measurements, bacteriological examinations—visits school vicinity New York, Philadelphia, or associates with school valuing such work. 8,634, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

MISS Guthman, New York shopper, will send things on approval. No samples. References. 309 West 99th St.

GUARDIAN or parent.—Philadelphia clergyman, married, with own boy of 10, desires oversight of boy 10 to 13 years old. Excellent school to attend and good home. Strict references required and given. Fine opportunity for the right boy. 8,631, Outlook.

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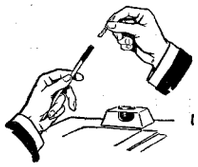
COLGATE'S "HANDY GRIP"
PATENTED 1917

The Refill Shaving Stick



You don't buy a new penholder every time you break your pen point

. . . neither do you have to buy a new "Handy Grip" every time the stick is used up.

Just unscrew the last of the soap and screw in a new Refill Stick. Stick the old bit of soap on the new stick—no waste.

"Lather with Colgate's and shave with comfort"—no mussy "rubbing in" with the fingers is necessary.

The Shaving Stick is the economical way to make a satisfactory lather. We can give you this impartial advice because we make Shaving Sticks, Powder and Cream. Send 4c for trial size of any one of these.

COLGATE & CO.
Dept. 20 199 Fulton St, New York

HELP WANTED!

Are you in need of a Mother's Helper, Companion, Nurse, Governess, Teacher, Business or Professional Assistant?

The Classified Want Department of The Outlook has for many years offered to subscribers a real service. A small advertisement in this department will bring results.

The rate is only ten cents per word, including address.

Department of Classified Advertising
THE OUTLOOK, 381 Fourth Ave., New York

BY THE WAY

Scrubwomen are quitting their jobs since prohibition went into effect, a newspaper despatch from Boston says. The connection is not evident at first, but reading between the lines we find that, as hard drinking ceases, women are no longer forced to go out scrubbing to support their families, because their sober husbands now bring home their wages. Managers of office buildings are said to find it difficult to keep their floors clean in these times, because the women are no longer looking for that sort of work.

"What is the funniest mispronunciation you ever heard?" was a question heard the other day and one which we pass on to our readers. One answer was this: "Up in New Hampshire two men were talking politics and one spoke of certain corrupt influences. 'The trouble,' he said, 'is with the dormant party'—he meant to say dominant." Another answer was this: "I heard a man the other day speak of Ibañez's celebrated novel as 'The Four Horsemen of the *Acropolis*.'" Who will match these?

America has no monopoly of ingenious contrivances, even in her chosen field of the motor car. An English motor truck used at a London railway terminal, where space is limited, has an attachment by which the car can be turned around in its own length. It consists of two small wheels arranged at right angles to the regular front wheels. By turning a lever at the driver's hand these are thrust down till the front wheels of the truck are clear, when the whole forward end is swung bodily about on the auxiliary wheels.

"I can remember the time," said the retiring whip-maker, as reported in the Brooklyn "Eagle," when we cut forty thousand pounds of whalebone a year just for whips alone." Those were the days when the streets of the cities and the country roads were filled with phaetons, victorias, sulkies, and other types of horse-drawn vehicles, when every driver had a whalebone whip. Now the motor car is king, the whip has gone—and perhaps the threatened extermination of the whale will cease.

"A really helpful suggestion in the cause of art has been made, for once, by royalty," says a London correspondent of a New York paper. "Prince Albert in his speech at the recent Academy banquet suggested a revival of the old village signs such as at one time adorned inns and hotels." Millais, David, Cox, Morland, Crome, and many other celebrities have done sign-post work in their day, and why should not young artists in these times help to beautify towns and villages with this kind of decorative work? To help the movement along the London "Daily Mail" has offered $10,500 in prizes for the best village signs.

With the conquest of German territory in eastern Africa, a writer in the "Atlantic" says, the British Empire now extends in an unbroken line from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope. When the Cape-to-Cairo Railway is completed, tourists will have before them perhaps the most interesting railway journey in the world. On one section of this railway a traveler reports that he saw gazelles, zebras, giraffes, ostriches, lions, and a rhinoceros. The scenery is wonderfully

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varied, and the human interest will include a gamut running from highly civilized races to the most primitive of peoples, the African pygmies.

"Promenade lectures" are to be organized for the benefit of visitors at the Louvre Galleries in Paris this summer, it is announced. The aimless wanderings that the uninstructed tourist usually indulges in will thus be prevented. American museums might take the hint to their own advantage and that of a multitude of visitors who would "like to be shown."

A Canadian printer writes to the "American Printer" deploring the loose methods of business practiced by some of his confrères. He says: "Some of our printers try to keep an up-to-date cost system, but others merely adopt the plan of putting figures on slips of paper. When the customer comes in with his job, they shake the figures up in a hat and pull one out. That gives the price of the job. One man I know confesses that he has no time clock in his plant; no record of how many hours his men work; nor can he tell, after a job is finished, whether it has taken an hour or a month. His plan is this: He takes one look at the job, another at the customer to size him up, and then names the price. Sometimes he guesses high, more often low, but seldom right." The editor of the "American Printer" fears that this condition of things is also found in some parts of "the States."

Pat was malingering, so the "Journal" of the American Medical Association tells us, but the hospital doctor made a miraculous cure by saying to the steward, "Give Donovan a dose of Infusia." Pat yelled, "For the love of the saints, doctor, dear, don't make me take that broth of Hades! Never mind my rheumatism, sergeant—I'll go with the boys and do my best." Here is the recipe for Infusia:

Asafetida—To supply the odor. *Gum arabic*—To make it stick well. *Ipecac*—To make it "back up" frequently. *Aloes*—To improve the taste. *Senna*—To give it a proper grip. *Rhubarb*—To insure a realizing sense that it is constantly present. *Castor oil*—To increase the efficiency of the whole. The dose—Q. S.—Enough to make the patient desire to die.

"That no nation in Europe excels or has excelled the Czechs in the popular arts has been proved by the manifestation of their rural crafts at the Pavillon de Marsan," writes the Paris correspondent of "American Art News." "This wonderful display, comprising potteries, leather and silver work, glass, lace, in fact all the domestic and decorative arts, is due to the chief of the French military mission sent to the relief of the Czechoslovakians. His visit to their country revealed this marvelous mine of the arts."

Is Haiti to become an El Dorado for Americans? Harry A. Franck, the pedestrian traveler, says in the "Century" that Haiti has an increasing number of American residents, who "are carrying on or opening up enterprises that promise to offer Haiti a prosperity not even second to that of Cuba." Still better, "families that could scarcely afford the luxury of a single 'hired girl' in the land of their birth keep five servants in Haiti—a cook, a butler, an upstairs maid, a laundress, and a yard boy." These domestic helpers receive from five to eight dollars a month!

Why Men Use Shavaid

It makes lather doubly effective

Applied to the dry beard before lathering, Shavaid completely softens it so that the razor cuts with new ease

Men the nation over have welcomed this scientific beard-softener because it frees them from the old methods of shaving. No "hot towels." No "rubbing in" of lather. And a more comfortable, thoroughly satisfactory shave.

Hot water is injurious. It brings the blood to the surface at the wrong time. It ages the skin prematurely. It causes wrinkles. And Shavaid accomplishes instantly what the old methods failed to accomplish as well. It completely softens the beard. And it leaves your skin cool and comfortable, perfectly normal even after a close shave.

Just squeeze a small quantity of Shavaid out of the sanitary collapsible tube and spread it over the dry beard with the tips of your fingers. Then apply your favorite lather with your brush, as usual. But do no rubbing in.

You will enjoy the cooling, soothing sensation. The lather stays moist and creamy on your face. And you will find that the razor cuts with surprising ease and smoothness. And afterward, you will need no healing lotion. Shavaid is in itself a soothing, healing emollient. Its daily use keeps the skin smooth and clear.

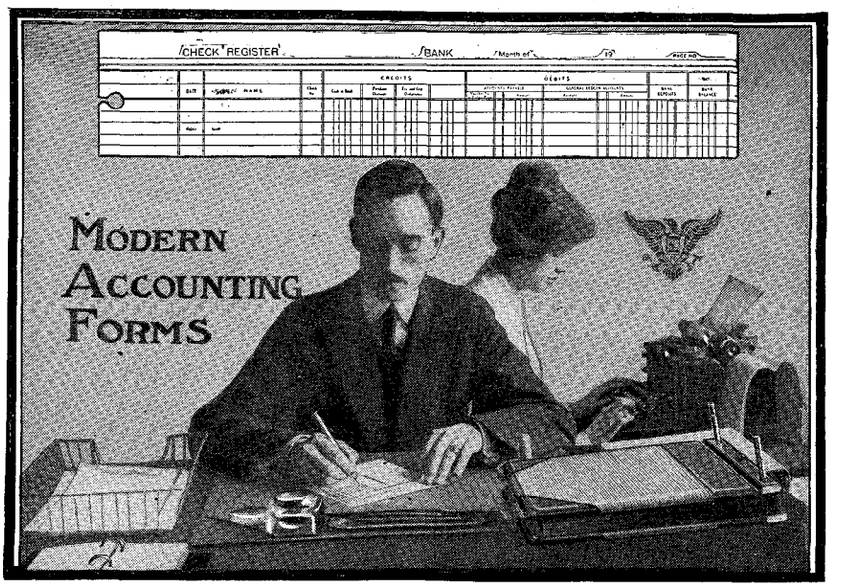
B&B

Shavaid

In 50-cent Tubes—Buy from Your Druggist

BAUER & BLACK Chicago New York Toronto

Makers of Sterile Surgical Dressings and Allied Products



National Modern Accounting Forms are a great assistance in keeping specialized business records. Many of these forms have been especially prepared for the National Line by expert accountants. The sheets are punched to fit regular sized Post Binders.

Modern Accounting Forms are time and labor savers, and supply most of the headings necessary for high grade accounting. In buying Blank Books or Loose Leaf Devices always ask for "National" and identify them by the Eagle Trade Mark.

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NATIONAL BLANK BOOK COMPANY

20 Riverside, Holyoke, Mass.

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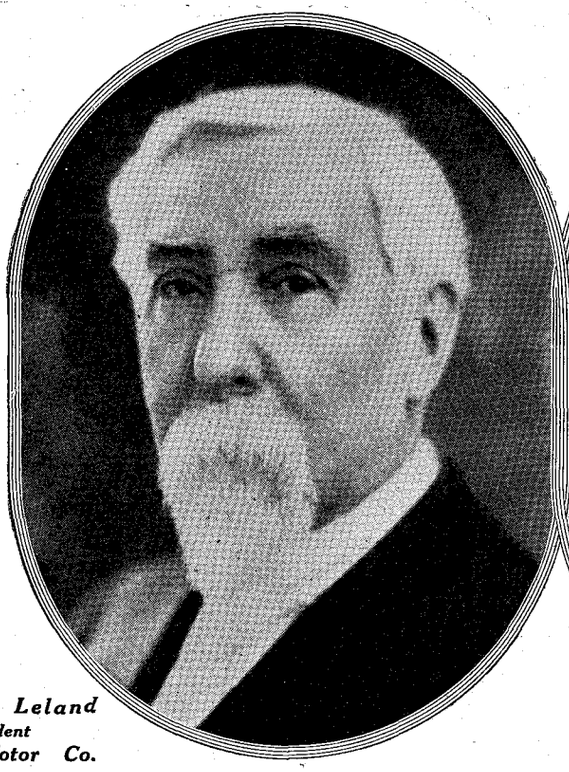
The Leland Contributions to Motordom

Pioneers of the Industry, Henry M. Leland and Wilfred C. Leland, Organizers of the Lincoln Motor Company, have been outstanding factors in Motor Car Development



Henry M. Leland
President
Lincoln Motor Co.

Wilfred C. Leland
Vice-Pres. & Gen'l Mgr.
Lincoln Motor Co.

Looking back over the progress of a generation, it would be difficult to recall anything which has contributed to the welfare of civilization and to the healthful enjoyment of mankind more than has the motor car.

Recalling the achievements which have marked the beginnings of various epoch-making periods in motordom, where do you find examples more impressive or which have been more far-reaching in their influence than those inaugurated by the Lelands during the past eighteen years, with the co-operation of thousands of skilled and loyal associates;

—the first practical, enduring car, made in large numbers;

—the thorough standardization and interchangeability of parts;

—close and fine workmanship, expressed by accuracy measured in thousandths of an inch and even in fractions of a thousandth;

—the initial adoption in motor car workmanship of the Johanssen gauges, accurate to the one-hundred-thousandth part of an inch—instruments which have helped to make possible such wonderful precision;

—scientific practices and methods in manufacture, which made possible a car of highest quality, at a price then far below prevailing figures for a comparable product:

—the electrical system of starting—lighting—ignition;

—the thermal regulation of the water circulating system;

—the V-type, *high speed, high-efficiency* engine, the influence of which upon the industry has been almost immeasurable?

As a crowning achievement, one has but to observe their record both as to quantity and quality of Liberty aircraft motors.

And to the Lelands is due a multitude of other things—in manufacturing practices and in motor car refinement—some seeming small in themselves perhaps, but almost limitless in their influence and incalculable in their value in making motor cars the wonderful mechanisms they are today.

The Lelands have been favored by an additional advantage in that usually they have been afforded first opportunity to consider new devices developed by independent and unaffiliated genius.

This because it was realized that the seal of Leland approval spelled success in motordom, and that generally it meant ultimate adoption by other good-car makers.

Entering the industry practically at its inception, the Lelands soon became recognized as possessing two predominant traits: first, to achieve and to surpass—for the sheer satisfaction derived from those accomplishments; second, to strive unceasingly for the betterment of motor cars, in everything that betterment signifies—to make them more trustworthy, to make them more enduring, to make them a source of greater comfort, to provide greater conveniences, to make their care and their operation unirksome—in short, to make their possession more desirable from every viewpoint.

Is it not logical, therefore, that men recognized as foremost exponents of advanced ideas, will guard and preserve that enviable distinction?

In the light of past accomplishments, could anything be more logical than that the new Leland-built car will embody refinements naturally to be expected of men occupying positions in the forefront of advancement—positions to which the serious-minded in the industry are wont to aspire?

And in the light of past accomplishments, could anything be more logical than that the new Leland-built car will uphold Leland traditions: and that it will evidence, more impressively than ever before, Leland determination and Leland ability to achieve—and to surpass?

LINCOLN MOTOR COMPANY, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

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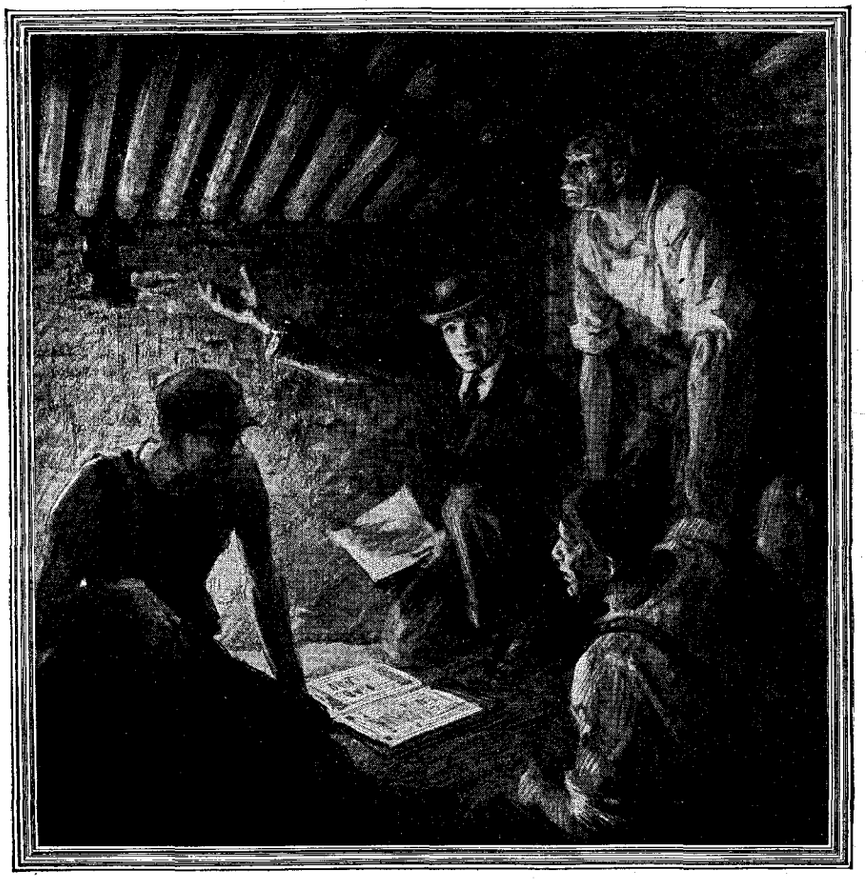


A Council of War against waste

IN a fire box under a cold boiler may seem a queer place for a salesman to be, until you get his viewpoint, which is first to sell an idea, the prevention of waste—the basic aim of the institution he represents. The materials he recommends are the tools by which he effects a saving—serves in conservation.

So he doesn't talk his line. He talks the other man's problems, proving as he speaks, that he knows his own materials in their relation to the other's need, whether to be involved in the more economical burning of coal, the reduction of heat losses, or the reduction of plant maintenance.

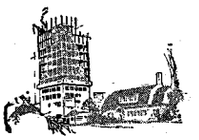
His business creed is helpfulness—an ideal, if you please, that makes the dingiest cranny in a plant as important as the mahogany office, and puts the grimy hands of the doer one notch above the kid-gloved ones of the talker.

So you usually find the Johns-Manville Waste Killer right where the trouble is. He may be up on a roof deck, in a pump room or a machine shop, down a mine shaft or a boat hold.

But wherever he is, you'll find a Johns-Manville customer who has learned the value of the kind of service this Company offers through its men. This customer confidence is an asset we value above all else because our own men have built it

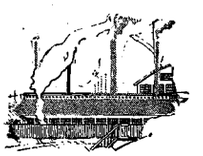
H. W. JOHNS-MANVILLE CO.
Madison Ave. at 41st St., New York City
10 Factories—Branches in 64 Large Cities

For Canada
CANADIAN JOHNS-MANVILLE CO., Ltd.
Toronto



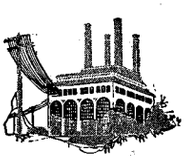
Building Materials

Johns-Manville Asbestos Built-Up Roofing for flat roofs
Asbestos Ready to Lay Roofings in roll form
Asbestos Shingles
Colorblende Asbestos Shingles
Asbestos Corrugated Roofing
Keystone Hair Insulator
Mastic Flooring
Transite Asbestos Wood
Waterproofing Materials
Radiator Traps



Power Specialties

Asbesto Sponge Felted, pipe sheet and block insulation
85% Magnesia Insulation
Insulation for cold water, hot water, brine and ammonia
Rod Plunger and Sheet Packing
Sea Ring Packing
Manhole and Handhole Gaskets
Steam Traps
Refractory Cements
Boiler Wall Coating
Monolithic Baffle Walls
Stack Linings



Electric Protective Devices

Noark Renewable Fuses
Noark Factory Sealed Fuses
Noark Underground Distribution Devices
Noark Service Boxes
Ebony Asbestos Wood
Fibre Conduit
Tapes, Friction, Rubber and Asbestos Textiles
Moulded Insulations
Pole Line Materials

Automotive Equipment

Brake Lining
Clutch Facings
Speedometers
Automotive Packing
Automotive Lighting Fuses
Recorders
Hub Odometers
Tachometers

JOHNS-MANVILLE SERVICE COVERS THE CONTINENT

Through—

Asbestos

and its allied products

INSULATION *that keeps the heat where it belongs*
CEMENTS *that make boiler walls leak-proof*
ROOFINGS *that cut down fire risks*
PACKINGS *that save power waste*
LININGS *that make brakes safe*
FIRE PREVENTION PRODUCTS

JOHNS-MANVILLE
Serves in Conservation

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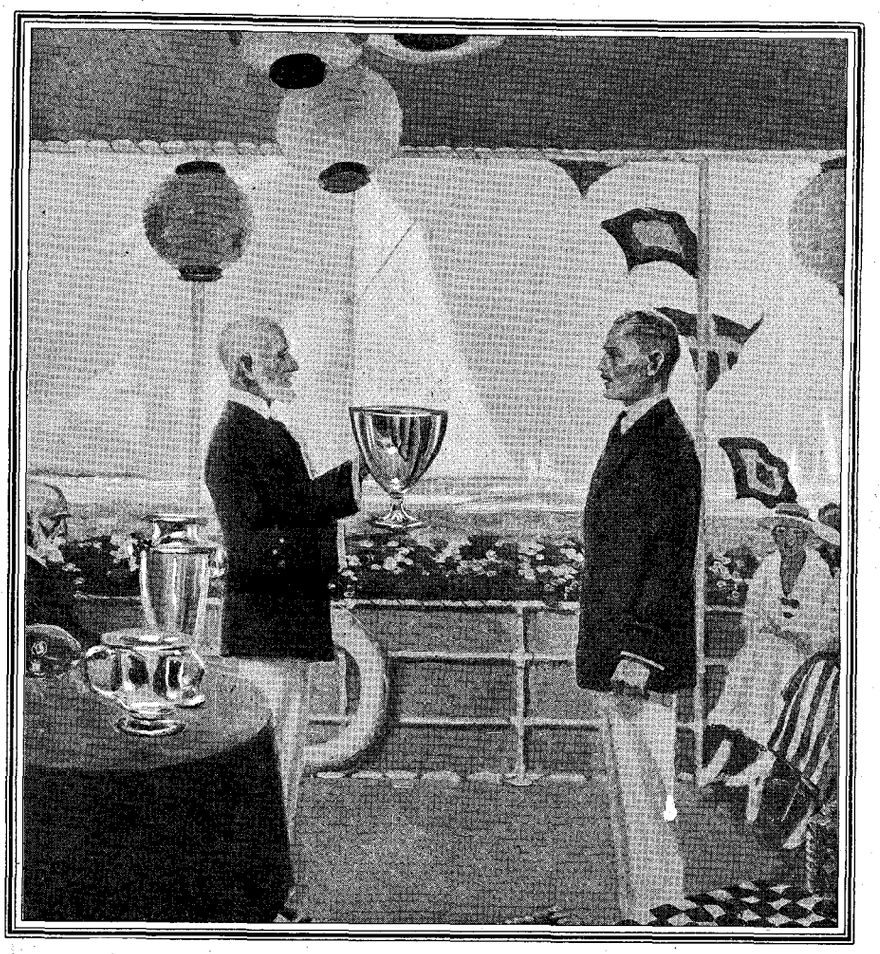

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The Fitting Tribute to Skill

A SILVER cup—to have and to hold through all the years—an everlasting reminder to future club members of a great race won—a beautiful tribute to the prowess of boat and crew. In athletic sports, as in other forms of competition, lovely *silver* is the accepted standard for acknowledgment of deeds well done. Whether in the trophy room of a club, or in the dining room or den of a well-appointed home, it is the treasured symbol of permanency, good taste, utility and refinement.

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